# SCOTTISH
MONASTERIES OF OLD

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MAP OF SCOTLAND, SHOWING THE VARIOUS SITES ALLUDED TO

THE SCOTTISH
MONASTERIES OF OLD

A BRIEF ACCOUNT OF THE HOUSES WHICH
EXISTED IN SCOTLAND, BEFORE THE
PROTESTANT REFORMATION, FOR MONKS
FOLLOWING THE RULE OF ST BENEDICT

BY

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MONK OF ST BENEDICT'S ABBEY, FORT AUGUSTUS

OTTO SCHULZE & COMPANY
20 SOUTH FREDERICK STREET, EDINBURGH

1913

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PREFACE

To the ordinary reader the history of the Scottish monasteries of old is far from familiar. It is true that for many years past various antiquarian societies have given to the world the chartularies of some of the old abbeys and priories, but these are not likely to attract any except professed students of antiquity ; for apart from the uninteresting nature of their contents, as far as the average reader is concerned, the language in which they are written—Latin of a curious style, often rendered more obscure by recognised abbreviations in vogue at the period in which they were penned—would debar the majority from attempting to master their meaning.

Of some few monasteries, it is true, monographs have been published, but in many instances their writers display a want of understanding of the Religious State (only to be expected in ardent advocates of a faith hostile to that of the inmates of the dwellings whose history they relate), which well-nigh counteracts the benefits offered by such treatises in the shape of valuable local traditions.

But of many—indeed, we may venture to say of the majority—of Scottish monasteries, very few reliable records remain. Scattered fragments of information have been gleaned from old historians and other such sources and embodied in ponderous tomes and multitudinous volumes like those of Chalmers' *Caledonia*, the *Statistical Account of Scotland—Old and New*, *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries*, etc. ; but works of the kind do not attract the casual reader.

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It is with the hope of awakening in some minds a keener interest in the glories of bygone days that the writer has attempted to bring together from the above sources the chief facts relating to the history of the monasteries in Scotland which were peopled by the sons of St Benedict in the Middle Ages.   To him it has been a labour of love to gather together the materials of this volume, and it will be an added satisfaction if such labour should serve to make more widely known what the monasteries of old were for Scotland.   It will be something gained if this book but helps to lift the veil of obscurity which—in spite of their ruins, studding the face of the land, and their names, living in many a town and village—still shrouds houses which for centuries were universally regarded as homes of sanctity, prayer, and far-reaching charity.

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BLACK MONKS

CHAPTER I

ST BENEDICT AND HIS ORDER

THE two main branches of the Benedictine Order are the Black Monks—or Benedictines proper, and Cistercians— or White Monks. This volume is concerned with the monasteries which existed in Scotland of old peopled by monks of both branches, since all claimed St Benedict as their Father.

Before speaking of the history of the monasteries in question, it will be as well to devote a few pages to an epitome of the life and work of the saint to whom the Order owes its origin, together with some remarks upon the Rule of life which he drew up for his disciples. For without some such preliminary knowledge, the reader will fail to realise the influence which those houses exercised in the country, and the loss sustained by their overthrow.

St Benedict was the son of a Roman noble belonging to an illustrious family. He was born in the little town of Nursia, in the central province of Italy known as Umbria, where his father had a palace whose ruins were to be seen in the ninth century; the chief of the churches in that town, dedicated to St Benedict, is said to have been built on the site of the saint's chamber. The date of his birth is generally believed to have been A.D. 480.

At an early age, the young Benedict began his studies in Rome, where his father had a house, situated in that part of the city known as Trastevere ("across the

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Tiber "); its site is now marked by the little church of
S. *Benedetto in Piscinula*, which was formed from a portion
of the palace.

That was a wild and lawless period; Rome itself was
under the rule of a barbarian conqueror, vice was rampant
everywhere, and even the schools of learning seem to
have shared in the general corruption of manners.   St
Paulinus of Nola, a holy bishop who was living not long
before that time, says that in his day the very streets of
Rome were full of dangers to the sight and imagination
of the innocent.   St Gregory the Great, a spiritual son of
St Benedict, and the saint's chief biographer, tells us that
the holy youth, filled with horror at the wickedness which
he saw in the city, and anxious to save himself from
contamination, determined to fly from Rome to some
obscure spot where he could serve God in peace and
security.   According to some authorities, this took place
when Benedict was quite a boy; modern writers, however,
give strong reasons for supposing that he was about
twenty years old when he made the resolution.   He
desired to give himself entirely to the service of God,
and therefore received the monastic habit from a holy
monk called Romanus, and retired, with the intention of
leading the life of a hermit, into a cave among the
mountains of Subiaco, some forty miles from Rome.
Here, amid wild gorges and almost inaccessible hills, he
remained hidden from all except Romanus, who supplied
him with food.

The monks of a neighbouring monastery, moved by
his reputed holiness, persuaded him to become their
abbot, but they were men of unworthy life, and finding
them treacherous and wicked he left them and returned
to his solitude.   In a few more years he had attracted
many disciples by the fame of his sanctity, and for these

he founded as many as twelve monasteries in the neighbourhood, taking the government of one upon himself, and appointing superiors for the others. This was the beginning of his Order.

St Benedict is so often spoken of as the Patriarch of Monks in the Western Church that it is necessary to say a few words upon the origin of monastic life, since, as we see, there were already monks in existence before he retired to his solitary cave, and therefore the title seems at first sight inappropriate.

ANTIQUITY OF THE MONASTIC STATE

Our B. Lord promised so plentiful a benediction upon all who should give up earthly loves and worldly possessions for His sake,[1] that we cannot be surprised to find men following His call to a life of renunciation even in Apostolic ages. The manner of life of the early Christians, described in the Acts of the Apostles, is the earliest record we possess of the regular practice of the Counsels of Perfection, and the nearest approach to the methodical discipline of monastic life in later ages. "And the multitude of believers had but one heart and one soul : neither did any one say that aught of the things which he possessed was his own, but all things were common unto them. . . . For as many as were owners of lands or houses sold them and brought the price of the things they sold and laid it down before the feet of the Apostles. And distribution was made to every one according as he had need."[2] Hence the historian Eusebius and St Jerome both assert that the first monks we know of were these early disciples.

Although, as the number of Christians increased, it

[1] Matt. xix. 27-30 ; Mark x. 29, 30.
[2] Acts iv. 32 *et seq.*

would be impossible that this state of things should continue to be general, yet the life of those who embraced Christianity continued to retain, during the first three centuries, a kind of monastic character. It was necessarily a hidden life, and one distinguished by austerity and prayer. But even in the earliest ages there were to be found men and women who carried out Our Lord's counsels to the letter. Thus some writers maintain that anchorites were living in Phœnicia as early as the time of the Emperor Trajan, in the beginning of the second century, and that St Telesphorus, who became Pope A.D. 139, had been previously a hermit.

It was during the two following centuries, however, that monastic life developed into an organised system. St Paul the hermit, St Anthony and their numerous disciples peopled the deserts of Egypt with thousands of monks and solitaries, and thus by the middle of the fourth century the Eastern Church could boast of innumerable monasteries both of men and women.

The introduction of the principles of monastic life into the West was due to the great St Athanasius. Driven from his episcopal see of Alexandria by the treachery of Arian heretics, he took refuge for a number of years, and on more than one occasion, with the monks of Egypt, and delighted in sharing their simple and mortified life. In subsequent visits to Rome he spoke with enthusiasm of the examples of holy living he had there seen, and the result was the introduction of monastic life into Rome. To the same great saint is due the foundation of monasteries in Gaul, whither he repaired during one of the many exiles he underwent for the defence of the true Faith. His Life of St Anthony, with whom he had been on familiar terms, helped forward the movement in more than one European country.

Thus it came about that by the beginning of the fifth century monastic life was flourishing with great vigour in places where a few years previously it had been almost unknown. In Italy it had been fostered by St Jerome, by the holy bishop St Eusebius of Vercelli (who, like Athanasius, had been exiled on account of the Arians, and had visited, like him, the Fathers of the Desert), by St Ambrose of Milan and others. In Gaul it was still more widespread; St Martin of Tours, St Honoratus of Lerins, St Cæsarius of Arles, John Cassian, who ruled over five thousand monks in his abbey of St Victor at Marseilles, are illustrious for their monastic foundations. Burgundy, the countries now known as Switzerland and Bavaria, and other parts of Europe could also boast of like institutions. So that when St Benedict came upon the scene monasticism had already begun to be a prominent feature in the spiritual life of the age.

THE PATRIARCH OF WESTERN MONKS

Although, as we have seen, there were numerous monasteries in the Western Church before St Benedict's day, yet there could scarcely be said to be a Monastic Order. Many of the great founders in the East, such as St Pachomius and others, had given to their disciples a rule of life; yet none of them ever acquired any lasting influence or widespread authority. Although, for instance, the Rule of St Basil had been accepted by numerous Eastern monasteries, yet, when John Cassian, early in the fifth century, visited the monks of Egypt, Palestine and Mesopotamia, he found among them, as he says, as many Rules as monasteries. In the West there was just as much diversity. Every founder of a new house made for himself, from the writings of the Eastern

Fathers, a Rule to suit the circumstances. Hence, monks were governed in some monasteries by the changing will of their superior, in others, by the traditions handed down from past ages, in others, again, by a written Rule. In several of them various Rules were practised at the same time, and were changed continually at the caprice of the inmates.

As a consequence of this variety there was very little stability. It was a recognised practice for monks to pass at will from one monastery to another, staying in each as long as it pleased them. Worse than this, many men adopted monastic life and gave it up again, as they felt inclined. Yet although such a state of things was altogether repugnant to the original idea of the life as propounded by the Fathers of the Desert, there was no definite legislation to prevent it. St Benedict was the instrument raised up by God to unite the scattered forces of monasticism into one vast body, and, by his wise legislation, render it an important element in the life of the Church.

The saint, as we have seen, established twelve monasteries in the vicinity of his cave at Subiaco; the number of these houses shows a departure from the established state of things. Rather than have a multitude of disciples living in one monastery, where individuals could receive but little personal attention from the superior, he chose to divide his flock into smaller bands, each of which he placed under a head chosen by himself and subject to his own supervision. In this is evident the commencement of the system of unity of aim, which St Benedict so successfully promoted.

After nearly twenty years spent thus in the government of souls desirous of aspiring to perfection, circumstances arose which led the saint to leave Subiaco for

another part of the country. The fame of his holiness
and his success in the spiritual training of souls roused
the jealousy of some who were less thought of, and, in
consequence, plots were laid against his life. When
these had been brought to naught by the Providence of
God, his angry foes did not scruple, with diabolical malice,
to tempt the monks to sin. Benedict, fearing the death
of the soul rather than that of the body, resolved to seek
another home, and accordingly set forth with a band of
disciples to found a monastery upon land given to him
for that purpose, as tradition affirms, by the father of
St Placid, one of the saint's chief disciples.

This new foundation was situated on the heights of
Monte Cassino, in that part of Italy now called Caserta.
There, amid almost inaccessible forests, at the summit
of that lofty mountain, ignorant peasants still offered
sacrifice to the ancient idols of Rome ; although
Christianity had been freely preached for more than two
hundred years. The saint's first work was to destroy
these vestiges of heathenism by casting down the Pagan
altars and removing the idols of Venus and Apollo ;
placing Christian oratories on the site so grievously pro-
faned. Around these first chapels arose in the course of
ages the most famous monastery of the whole Christian
world, celebrated as the spot where St Benedict wrote
his immortal Rule and formed that mode of life which was
to serve as a pattern for innumerable communities of
monks scattered throughout the Western Church.

As we have seen, no lawgiver had, as yet, arisen, who
was capable of uniting the principles laid down by the
ancient masters of the spiritual life so as to form a code
of laws suitable to the monks of the West. St Benedict,
in his wide experience, saw what was needed to make the
Monastic State a power in the Church, by rendering it a

sure and safe guide to the perfection taught by the
Evangelical Counsels. He recognised the necessity for a
permanent and uniform rule of life, in place of the
changing opinions of individuals, if monastic life was to
be made a lasting institution in the Church. Yet, far
from wishing to set aside the teachings of antiquity on
the subject, he would embody them in his new legislation,
and thus reform abuses, rather than introduce novelties.
Another thing to be borne in mind is that, as far as we
can ascertain from the Rule itself, St Benedict seems to
have had no idea of legislating for any beyond his own
immediate disciples, and it is a strong proof of the wisdom
of its compiler and of his large-hearted charity that it
eventually became the guide of the whole Monastic Order
in Western Christendom.

The Benedictine Rule

St Gregory the Great, enumerating the many wonders
wrought by St Benedict during his life, gives
a prominent place among them to the Rule,
which he calls, "a marvel of wisdom and
discretion."[1] It would be useless to attempt to reproduce
here even a summary of the many commendations which
this Rule has received from Popes, Councils, Saints, and
spiritual writers. Its good sense and gentleness, humanity
and moderation, have been again and again extolled ; such
eminent authorities as St Gregory, St Thomas of Aquin,
St Hildegarde and St Antoninus, have not hesitated to
declare their belief that it was directly inspired by the
Holy Ghost; the famous French orator, Bossuet, says of
it : "This Rule is an epitome of Christianity, a learned
and mysterious abridgment of all the doctrines of the

General Principles.

[1] *Dialog.*, lib. ii. cap. 36.

Gospel, all the institutions of the holy fathers and all the counsels of perfection." But the most striking proof of its worth is to be found in the almost innumerable host of heroic saints which it has produced during the fourteen centuries which have felt its influence.

The Rule consists of a Prologue or Introduction in which the saint impresses upon his disciples the importance of labour or activity, and of obedience; these two principles he makes the foundation of his legislation. After this introduction follow 72 chapters which teach all that is necessary for the due observance of monastic life. Some of these chapters show the virtues after which a monk is bound to strive—humility and obedience having the first place. Others regulate the government of the monastery; others, again, legislate for study, manual labour and other occupations, while others provide for the correction of faults. The public and regular celebration of the Divine Office is minutely provided for by the saint; its regulations occupy, as we shall see, many chapters of the Rule. The whole concludes with a short exhortation to the observance of what has been laid down —St Benedict, in his deep humility, disclaiming any right to legislate for the perfect, and styling his work a " little Rule . . . written for beginners." [1]

A striking feature of the Rule of St Benedict, and one which must not pass unnoticed, is the language in which it is written. The words of Sacred Scripture are blended by the saint with his own in such a way that the whole composition partakes of the sweetness, simplicity, and force which are such a feature in the Holy Scriptures. This gives to the work a sacred character seldom to be found in the writings of ordinary men, and invests it with a peculiar charm of its own.

[1] *Prolog., Reg. S. Ben.*

To attempt anything like a detailed examination of the
Rule would be impossible here ; it will be sufficient to
take a cursory glance at its general features, for that will
enable us to gain some idea of what St Benedict wished
his followers to become.

St Benedict does not legislate for his spiritual sons in
Fundamental the character of a general, commanding with
Spirit rigid and unbending discipline a body of
of the Rule. pliant soldiers warring for God and His
Church ; he rather speaks with the authority of a loving
father to children liable to commit many slight faults
through heedlessness or frailty.   Hence it comes about
that the spirit of the Monastic Order is that of a great
Christian family.   This is prominently set forth in the
very name given to the superior.   He is not called
General or Rector or Master ; but he bears the sacred
name by which Our Blessed Lord designated His Eternal
Father.   "Since he is considered to represent the person
of Christ, let him be called Lord and Abbot."[1]   "For
he is considered to hold the place of Christ in the
monastery, since he is called by His Name, as the
Apostle saith : 'Ye have received the spirit of the adop-
tion of children, in which we cry Abba, Father.'"[2]   Thus,
in two different passages of his Rule, does St Benedict
indicate clearly the spirit in which he legislates for his
disciples.

Those who placed themselves under the guidance of
an abbot were to be born again of the Holy Ghost by a
new spiritual birth and to grow up to the full stature of
perfection under paternal care and watchfulness.   The
Father of the monastic family was to fill the place of their
Heavenly Father—the real Ruler and Guide—by nourish-
ing the souls of his sons with heavenly doctrine, even as

[1] *Reg.*, cap. lxiii.   [2] *Ibid.*, cap. ii.

a human father provides food for his children in the natural order; he was to educate them for Heaven, just as a wise father seeks for the future success of his child's earthly life, and he was to guard them from all dangers that might hinder their progress, as a loving and vigilant earthly parent protects his offspring from all harm. Thus the threefold office of a father—to feed, to guide, to shelter—was to be exercised by the abbot in the monastery as the representative of the Father above, "of whom all paternity in Heaven and earth is named."[1]

But St Benedict inculcates the family spirit upon subjects as well as superior. The very first words of the Introduction witness to this. "Hearken, O my son, to the precepts of thy Master . . . receive with joy and faithfully fulfil the admonition of thy loving Father."[2] He who wished to become a son of the saint's family was required to place himself in the hands of his superior with all the docility, reverence and affection which a father in the natural order has a right to demand from his children. And as the distinguishing virtue of a dutiful son is obedience, that characteristic is particularly required by St Benedict of his spiritual sons. Obedience —prompt, perfect, courageous, loving, and cheerful—had to be shown with regard to every command of the abbot, who was to be obeyed, not as a mere man, but because he held a supernatural office and by his commands indicated to those who lived by faith the will of God in their regard. "Obedience without delay," says the saint, "becometh those who hold nothing dearer to them than Christ, and who . . . as soon as anything is ordered by the superior, suffer no more delay in doing it than if it had been commanded by God Himself. It is of these that

[1] Ephes. iii. 14, 15.   [2] *Prolog. Reg.*

the Lord saith: 'At the hearing of the ear he hath obeyed
Me.' And, again, to teachers He saith: 'He that heareth
you heareth me.' " [1]

The subject would be incomplete without some refer-
ence to the third bond of union in a family—that which
exists between the members themselves binding them
together in one. St Benedict would have the family of
God formed upon the model of that perfect union of the
first Christians, described in the Acts of the Apostles as
animated by "one heart and one soul: neither did any
one say that aught of the things which he possessed was
his own, but all things were common unto them." [2] He
speaks again and again of the "most fervent love"
which is to bind his sons together; he would have them
" prefer one another in honour"; each one is to follow
" what seemeth good for another" [3] rather than his own
desires, and to sum up all in one word, he bids them
" never to forsake charity." [4] Thus obedience, renuncia-
tion, humility, the love of God and of his neighbour
are the prominent virtues demanded of the monk by St
Benedict's Rule.

But the practice of the various monastic virtues does
not constitute the essence of the Religious State. It is in
the binding of oneself by vow that the real merit consists.
By the vows of Religion a man or woman undertakes to
strive after the perfection of the Christian life exemplified
in the Evangelical Counsels—voluntary Poverty, perpetual
Chastity, and entire Obedience. In these days most of
the Religious Orders of the Catholic Church require their
members to take these three vows expressly, but in
St Benedict's time, although the practice of the three
virtues formed an essential part of monastic life, they

[1] *Reg.*, cap. v. [2] *Ibid.*, cap. xxxiii.
[3] *Ibid.*, cap. lxxii. [4] *Ibid.*, cap. iv.

were not thus particularised.   The vows prescribed by his
Rule are in like manner three in number, but they are
those of Stability, Conversion of Manners, and Obedience.
Stability was made binding by vow to put an end to the
abuse already referred to—the wandering of monks at
will from one monastery to another.   By this vow he
would fix the monk in the monastery of his profession for
the whole term of his natural life, so that rooted in firm
ground he might flourish in all Christian virtues.   Con-
version of Manners means in other words the constant
aspiration after perfection, which had always been re-
garded, as it still is, as essential to the Religious State ;
it bound the monk by vow to the observance of Poverty
and Chastity.   Obedience, which the saint required to be
prompt, humble, patient, cheerful, and devoid of fear or
coldness or unwillingness, was to complete the sacrifice
by the immolation of the will—man's noblest attribute.
It is by the same three vows that Benedictine monks and
nuns, fourteen centuries later, still consecrate themselves
to God.

Of the seventy-three chapters which constitute his
The Divine Office. Rule, no less than eighteen are concerned
with the celebration of what the saint styles
Opus Dei—"The Work of God."   This
"Work," he says, is not to give place to any other occu-
pation in the monastery, but to be carried out with the
greatest exactitude at duly appointed times.   The Church
now calls it "The Divine Office."

From the very commencement of monastic life the chief
occupation of those who had dedicated themselves to
God's service was the singing of the Divine praises.
Some of the ancient monks and hermits made it a practice
to recite the whole of the 150 psalms of David every day.
This love for the Psalter was based upon a constant

tradition dating from Apostolic ages; as early as the first century traces are to be found of a fixed order of Divine service, consisting of prayer and psalmody at regular hours.   But although some kind of liturgical worship was a prominent feature of every monastery, it varied as to details.   St Pachomius, the great Egyptian abbot of the fourth century, is said to have been taught by an angel the exact number of psalms to be sung at the different hours of the day and night, and this gave rise to a more or less established tradition on certain points connected with this form of worship.   But until St Benedict legislated for his spiritual sons regarding every particular of the Divine Office, not only Bishops in their churches, but even abbots in their monasteries arranged the various details as they chose.

For some who may read these pages it may be well to explain more minutely what precisely is meant by the Divine Office.   It consists of an authorised arrangement of psalms, readings from Holy Scripture, and from the writings of the Fathers of the Church, to constitute a daily form of worship, carried out at regular intervals.   It may be roughly divided into the Day and the Night Office.   The latter, which is of greater length, was in very early ages portioned out into what were called *Vigiliæ*—" Watches."   The name is said to have originated in the ancient division of the night as well as of the day into portions of three hours' duration.   We meet the expression often in Holy Scripture—" the first watch of the night," " the second," " the third," as well as " cockcrow," " the third," " sixth," " ninth," hours of the day.

It was the constant practice of Our Blessed Lord and His disciples to make use of the hours of the night, when all creation was in repose, to celebrate the praises of God.   The Church followed this example, particularly

upon the eves of the more solemn festivals, as the name
Vigil ("Watch") still testifies. It is, therefore, not sur-
prising to find the ancient monks in the deserts of Egypt,
in the same spirit, curtailing their hours of sleep that
they might devote a part of the night to God's service.
The custom, as is evident, was generally received before
the time of St Benedict, and he naturally adopted it as a
recognised monastic duty.   Although it had been the
practice among the primitive monks to separate the night
service into three "watches," it became customary to
unite them in one, and St Benedict, though preserving the
original title "watches," legislated for the observance of
the whole night office at one spell. The modern name
for these three divisions is "Nocturn."

St Benedict originated the division of the day offices
as they are still celebrated in the Catholic Church ; for
although there are traces in earlier times of seven
"hours"—the number appointed by him—they were not
known by the same names or celebrated at the same times
of the day as he ordained.   These offices consist of
Lauds ("praises"—from the *Laudate* or psalms of praise
always sung therein), Prime ("first hour"), Tierce
("third hour"), Sext, None ("sixth" and "ninth" hour),
Vespers ("evening prayer"), and Compline ("comple-
tion" of the day's duty of psalmody).

In the distribution of the psalms between the various
"hours," the saint arranged that the whole Psalter should
be gone through in the course of each week.   This
arrangement is still to be found in the special Breviary
which Benedictines are allowed to retain.   The increase,
since St Benedict's time, of feasts in honour of the saints,
has, however, necessitated the substitution of specially
chosen psalms on certain days ; hence the primitive idea
can no longer be put into practice literally. Yet by recent

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decrees of Pope Pius X. the office has been restored to a closer resemblance to its primitive form.

In his minute arrangements for the celebration of Divine Worship the Patriarch of Western Monks was merely carrying out the ancient monastic traditions. A more regular performance of the duty of prayer is required by God of those who have given up the cares as well as the pleasures of the world, than is possible with ordinary Christians. Hence it has come about that the regular celebration of the Divine Office has been imposed by the Church upon every cleric in Sacred Orders as a bounden duty. Holy Church has thus set her seal to St Benedict's injunction: "Let nothing be preferred to the 'Work of God.'"[1]

St Benedict knew that the monk could not be expected
Monastic Labour. to occupy himself exclusively with the supreme duties of prayer and praise. The time that must necessarily remain was not, however, to be wasted. He therefore laid down minute regulations as to the way in which the day should be spent. The monks of the desert had given themselves especially to manual labour as a means of overcoming sloth, while procuring at the same time the necessities of life. Labour had thus become a recognised feature of monastic life—that labour which had been primarily imposed upon fallen man as part punishment of sin, and had been ennobled under the Gospel by the example of the Redeemer Himself.

St Benedict, therefore, did not overlook this important means of mortification and preparation for sanctity. He would have his sons devote themselves to it at certain times as their forerunners had done. He did not limit labour, however, to that of the hands ; certain hours were

[1] *Reg.*, cap. xliii.

to be given to study and holy reading. It naturally came about that some monks were more fitted for one kind of occupation rather than the other, and in the course of a few centuries a definite separation into two ranks was the outcome of this. The unlearned among the brethren were dispensed from attendance at the celebration of the Divine Office, and constituted the portion of the monastic family known as Lay Brethren. Later on the Church legislated that all monks belonging to the other division, who had acquired the designation of Choir Brethren, should qualify themselves for the sacred priesthood ; this necessitated a greater devotion on the part of such to mental rather than manual labour, while the Lay Brethren fulfilled those offices in the monastery for which bodily labour was requisite. Hence it came about that monks became recognised as qualified teachers, to whom might be satisfactorily entrusted the education of youth in sacred and humane studies. Yet even under these circumstances, the practice of manual labour to a certain extent has always been looked upon as a necessary adjunct of the Monastic State for every member of the family.

Monastic life has been regarded from the beginning as *Enclosure.* a life of separation from the world. In the early centuries men fled to the desert in order to serve God with greater freedom. When monasteries arose, the same idea prevailed ; and the confines of the monastery were designed to provide a similar seclusion. Hence St Benedict legislates for the strict enclosure of the inmates of his houses. No monk was to go abroad without the blessing of his superior and the prayers of his brethren to fortify him against the dangers which might await him in his intercourse with the world outside.

Yet here again, as in so many instances, the Rule of the great Patriarch of monks moderates the strictness of

the early Fathers. He will not keep his sons rigidly secluded from all intercourse with their fellow men, but as the Rule shows, charity to others or the needs of labour or business might require one or other of the monks from time to time to pass beyond the gates of the enclosure.

CLOSING YEARS OF ST BENEDICT'S LIFE

The more common opinion of historians is that St Benedict passed from this world on the 21st of March, in the year 543. Although he had spent some fifty years in the seclusion of monastic life, those years had been filled with work that was to leave a record upon all succeeding centuries ; in addition, they had been marked by many wonders wrought through the power of God at the prayer of His faithful servant. The recital of these marvels fills the second book of the *Dialogues* of St Gregory, one of the most illustrious of St Benedict's sons. To recount them here would be impossible. It will suffice to say that the saint was the instrument by which diseases, both bodily and spiritual, were healed, the power of the devil checked, future events foretold, men's secret thoughts revealed, and even the dead raised to life. Should it be thought that too little has been related here of the various details of his marvellous life, we may take refuge in the plea that much has been said about the Rule St Benedict has left behind. And of it St Gregory says, "If any be curious to know further of his life and conversation, he may in the institution of that Rule understand all his manner of life and discipline ; for the holy man could not otherwise teach than himself lived." [1]

1 *Dialog.*, lib. ii. cap. xxxvi.

When the time arrived which was destined by God to be the close of the holy man's earthly career, and which had been supernaturally revealed to him, he caused the tomb to be prepared in which, only forty days before, had been laid to rest his twin sister, Scholastica—like himself dedicated to God in the Religious Life, and the spiritual mother of the nuns who follow St Benedict's Rule.   Six days after, he caused himself to be borne to the church, and there, after receiving Holy Viaticum, standing erect, supported by his brethren, he breathed forth his soul with hands and heart uplifted towards that Heaven for which he had so long sighed.   He was buried in the sepulchre prepared for him, under the altar of the chapel of St John the Baptist, in the very spot where once stood the altar of Apollo which he had cast down. That tomb became in succeeding centuries and continues to this day an attraction to innumerable pilgrims, on the heights of the world-famed Monte Cassino.

THE ORDER AND ITS WORK

During the life-time of St Benedict, his Order had already made considerable progress.   Numerous monasteries in Italy, besides those he had himself raised, had adopted his Rule.   St Placid had carried that Rule into Sicily, St Maurus into France.   It speedily found an entrance into other countries.   Little more than fifty years after the death of St Benedict, Augustine, the Roman monk, sent by St Gregory the Great from the monastery that Pope had founded on the Cœlian Hill at Rome, came to England to preach the Gospel to its Pagan people and to establish monastic life at the same time by means of his thirty companion-monks.   A few centuries later, and many other countries of Europe had

received like benefits at the hands of the sons of St Benedict. Germany, Belgium, Sweden, Holland, Denmark, Poland, Hungary, are some of them.

To give even a slight sketch of the history of the Benedictine Order is impossible in so small a space ; it took the learned monks of the French Congregation of St Maur, in the seventeenth century, no less than fifty years to complete the nine huge volumes in which they have brought together the chief facts of monastic history during the six centuries after St Benedict's birth. The canonised saints to whom it has given spiritual birth number many thousands. Hundreds of holy bishops and well-nigh fifty Popes have sprung from its cloisters. As to its extent, we find historians enumerating its monasteries, taking into consideration the various branches into which it has spread in the course of many centuries, at 37,000. The many and varied benefits to society of which it has been the channel during its long life have been summed up eloquently and skilfully by an illustrious prelate now deceased, who gloried in being a son of St Benedict.

To form saints and to civilise mankind have been the two great vocations of the Benedictine Order. Its stability accomplished the first of these vocations ; its free spirit and large-heartedness achieved the second. With these two arms it was fitted to embrace the changeable conditions of the world of man. After the waves of barbarism had swept down from the frozen North and the Steppes of Asia on the Roman Empire, overturning both cultivation and civilisation, making a great part of Europe a desert, the Benedictines with their skilful industry restored agriculture. They gathered peaceful populations around their monasteries. They infused free life into the local government of towns, drawn in great part from the spirit of their own constitutional government. From the municipalities the constitutional spirit passed into the State ; but little in these days does this country realise how much of its ancient liberties it owes to the Benedictine Order. It gave a home in its monasteries to letters and learning when the world ceased to care for

them, and was suffering them to perish. Education was renewed and
kept up in the monastic schools. The monks were the first craftsmen
and the chief inventors of those times. To them we owe clocks and
windmills and organs and musical notes and lace-making and the system
of furnishing water supplies from reservoirs to large establishments, and
numerous other inventions for the use or adornment of life. They were
great architects, and as copyists they supplied what is now done by
printing. From their skill in building and adorning churches and sacred
books the fine arts arose anew. When printing was invented, they first
introduced it into Italy at Subiaco, and into England at Westminster
Abbey. Their monasteries were the schools of the people in all the arts
of life.

They brought into one country from another new trees and fruits and
vegetables and flowers. They studied the healing virtues of plants and
minerals, cultivated medicine, and spread the arts of healing among the
people. Their monasteries were the hospitals, dispensaries, poorhouses,
and schools of the people, but not their prisons. They defended the poor
man's cause against the oppression of the powerful. They stood for the
rights of the people against the ungodly tyranny of kings and nobles, and
counselled the mighty of the earth to justice and mercy. It was said in
those days: It is good to live under the abbot's crosier. They were the
historians of their times, and their chronicles show with what a truthful
simplicity they recorded events, and how they weighed men of all ranks
and callings in the balance of Christian equity.[1]

Countless testimonies to the same effect have been borne
by numerous writers, many of them adversaries of the
Catholic Faith, who are unable to close their eyes to the
benefits bestowed upon the world by the men whose
belief they despise, while they are compelled to admire
its fruits.

Imperfect though the records be which tell us of their
rise and progress, their daily routine, their glory and their
fall, we are able to glean enough from them to help us to
realise what Scotland lost in losing her religious houses;
we cannot but lament with keen regret the sweeping
away of so many spiritual strongholds; we must needs

[1] Archbishop Ullathorne, *Ecclesiastical Discourses*, p. 311.

glow with indignation at the blind fury which could hack
and hew such gems of architecture, at the indifferent
worldliness which could leave them to decay, or at the
bucolic profanity which could treat them as mere quarries
of hewn stone wherewith to patch up homestead, byre,
or stable.

CHAPTER II

THE Benedictine monasteries of Scotland naturally divide
themselves into three groups. The branches of the old
English stock, flourishing at Canterbury, Durham, or
Reading, constitute one; the offshoots from the Abbey
of Tiron, in Picardy, another; the Cluniac houses a third.
It is with the first group that we propose to deal in this
chapter; it consists of the royal Abbey of Dunfermline
with its sometime dependent priories of Coldingham,
Urquhart, and Pluscarden, and the Reading foundation on
the Isle of May.

It was somewhat late in the history of the Church in
Scotland that the Order of St Benedict first made its
appearance in the country. It owed its introduction to
the sainted Queen Margaret in the eleventh century.

Dunfermline, a royal residence, and later on a town in the
south-west of Fifeshire, was but a few miles distant from
the reputed landing-place of the exiles from England at
the accession of William the Conqueror—Prince Edgar
with his mother Agatha and his two sisters Margaret and
Christina, who had fled for safety to Scotland.

It was there that Margaret was later married to King
Malcolm III., and it became a favourite dwelling-place
with the royal pair. It was but natural, then, that the
holy queen should choose Dunfermline as the site of a
church of more fitting splendour than Scotland yet pos-
sessed. That she was the moving spirit in the new
foundation we gather from her biographer, Turgot, Prior

of Durham, and afterwards Bishop of St Andrews, who thus relates the story :

> In the place where her nuptials were celebrated she built an eternal monument of her name and devotion. For she erected the noble church there in honour of the Holy Trinity with a threefold purpose : for the redemption of the king's soul, for the good of her own, and to obtain prosperity in this life and in the life that is to come for her children. This church she adorned with divers kinds of precious gifts, among which, as is well known, were vessels not a few of solid and pure gold, for the holy service of the altar, of which I can speak with the greater certainty since by the queen's command I myself for a long time had them all under my charge there.[1]

It was about the year 1075 that the church was commenced. Whether it was from the beginning a Benedictine foundation is a matter of dispute. Some writers assert that Malcolm and Margaret established there a body of Culdees. As proofs they instance the facts of the Holy Trinity being the invariable dedication for churches belonging to the Culdees ; of the signature of Ivo, Abbot of the Culdees, appearing in the foundation charter—an instrument, by the way, of much disputed authenticity ; and of a grant made to certain Culdees of some of the lands belonging to the abbey when it became Benedictine. On the other hand, it is maintained that the foundation was Benedictine from the first. As evidence of this we have the fact of Peter, Prior of Dunfermline, forming one of a deputation to England in 1120—after Malcolm's death, it is true, but before the installation of monks from Canterbury. That this Peter was a *monk* is witnessed to by Eadmer, who thus describes him :

> Horum unus quidem monachus et Prior Ecclesiæ Dunfermelinæ Petrus nomine.[2]

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[1] Pinkerton's *Ancient Lives of Scottish Saints* (Metcalfe's translation), vol. ii. p. 163.

[2] *Hist. Novel.*, lib. v. (Migne's *Patrol.*, tom. clix. p. 510 D).

Moreover, Turgot, the Queen's confessor and friend, was a monk of Durham, and was one of the chief instigators of the foundation, as Bishop Leslie shows.   Indeed, from Turgot's words already quoted, it would appear that he held some official position in the monastery ; " by the queen's command I myself for a long time had them all under my charge there."[1]   Bishop Leslie's evidence is explicit :

Cujus (Turgoti) item suasu Malcolmus, templum in civitate Dunfermilingensi magnifice suis impensis extructum Sanctiss. Trinitati dicavit ; sanciens ut exinde commune esset Regum sepulchrum, amplissimis quoque redditibus Benedictini ordinis monachos ibidem Deo perpetuo famulaturos donavit.[2]

Although good Bishop Leslie wrote some five centuries after the event, he was at least three hundred years nearer to the period in question than the writers of our own times, and doubtless had access to many historical records now lost to us.   His statement, therefore, must needs be received with all respect.   The controversy would be of little moment did it not touch upon the seniority of Dunfermline in point of origin to all other Scottish Benedictine houses—a distinction not lightly to be passed over.

The building erected by Malcolm and Margaret was

[1] " Cuncta jubente regina ego ipse diutius ibidem servanda susceperam," *Vita Margaritæ*, Pinkerton's *Lives*, vol. ii. p. 163.

[2] *De rebus gestis Scotorum* (A.D. 1578), lib. vi. c. 86.   It may be of interest to some if we quote the quaint translation of the passage from the MS. of Fr. James Dalrymple of Ratisbon (A.D. 1596), still preserved at Fort Augustus :—" Throuch quhais requeist lykwyse, King Malcolme erected a fair and magnifik kirke in the toune of Dunfermiling, with a clostir, of his awne expenses, and dedicat the samyn to the maist holy Trinitie : Thaireftir he maid this acte ; that fra that furth, sulde be a commoune buriall to the Kings of Scotland ; and that the Mounkis of S. Benedicte's ordour in that monaster perpetuallie sulde serve god, quhome he enduet with ample and ryche rentis."

probably small compared with the later expansion of the abbey.   It is doubtful whether any portion of the original fabric remains to us, as their son, Alexander I., carried on the work after the death of his parents, and the grand Romanesque nave—the only part which survives the wreck of the sixteenth century—was built by him.   From the style of its architecture it is evident that Durham was the model followed.   Indeed, a competent authority has not hesitated to conjecture that "the same head may have planned, or the same hands hewn,"[1] portions of both churches.   This is rendered quite probable by the fact of the association of Turgot as well as of Malcolm and his family with both minsters; for Dunfermline owed much to Turgot's instigation, and Durham was built under his rule as Prior, Malcolm assisting in 1093 at the foundation; while later on, in 1104, Alexander I. was present at the reception of St Cuthbert's relics there.

Alexander seems to have brought the conventual buildings to something like completion, since in the very year of his death, 1124, his brother and successor, David I., was able to bring a colony of thirteen monks from Christ Church, Canterbury, to form the community together with any others who might be already in possession.   At their head was Godfrey, Prior of Christ Church, who was made superior, though, owing to the long vacancy in the See of St Andrews, he did not receive the abbatial benediction till four years later.   Godfrey ruled the monastery for thirty years, dying in 1154, a year after David I. had been laid to rest near the tombs of his parents and brothers. The church received consecration in 1150, by which time the great nave seems to have been completed.

The minster was not destined to remain as Godfrey and David had left it.   The prestige of the abbey as a

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[1] Jos. Robertson, LL.D., *Quarterly Review*, vol. lxxxv. p. 120.

royal foundation and the burial place of the Scottish monarchs attracted many subjects to its cloisters. The number of monks had so greatly increased that, less than seventy years after the consecration of the church, it became necessary to enlarge the choir to accommodate them in the carrying out of the daily canonical office. A letter of Pope Honorius III., dated 1226, speaks of the "more noble buildings" which it has been found advisable to erect, and in consideration of the great outlay incurred thereby, and the increased expenses of a larger community and more frequent guests, grants the revenues of certain churches which had been offered as a donation to the abbey.[1] A few years later, Gregory IX. granted the patronage of certain other churches in the diocese of Dunkeld; the monks, according to the Abbot's statement, having increased from thirty to fifty, and the revenues being insufficient to sustain them fittingly, as well as defray building charges.[2] The letter is addressed to Gilbert, Bishop of Dunkeld.

The "more noble buildings" alluded to above are those of the magnificent addition to the abbey church, which consisted of transepts, choir, and Lady Chapel in Early English style; as this addition was contemporaneous with the "Nine Altars" of Durham, the eastern end of Westminster and the choir of Glasgow, an approximate idea may be obtained of the beauty and grace which made the newly finished pile a fitting canopy for the shrine of a national saint. It is, indeed, highly probable that, in view of the looked-for canonisation of St Margaret, the arrangements of the new portion of the church were designed to provide for a receptacle for her remains beyond the new choir, at the back of the high altar, in a position similar to St Cuthbert's shrine at Durham; for it

[1] *Registrum*, p. 167.   [2] *Ibid.*, p. 76.

is worthy of note that the buildings were finished only just before the translation of St Margaret's relics in 1250.

Between the years 1245 and 1249, much correspondence took place between Scotland and Rome with regard to the miracles reputed to have been wrought through the intercession of the saintly queen; for since the decree of Pope Alexander III., in 1170, no person, however holy, or however celebrated for miracles, might receive honour as a saint without the consent of the Roman Pontiff. Innocent IV., after due examination of the evidence submitted by the bishops of St Andrews, Dunkeld, and Dunblane, at the instigation of King Alexander II., proclaimed Margaret a saint on August 5, 1249. The intimation was made known by a letter of that Pope to the Abbot and community. In October of the same year Innocent IV. granted an annual Indulgence of forty days to all who should visit her tomb on her feast day.

We cannot omit mention of a striking instance where ignorance of ecclesiastical terms serves as the basis of a bigoted outpouring of abuse against monks and ecclesiastics; it occurs in the *Annals of Dunfermline*, by Rev. Ebenezer Henderson, LL.D.[1] The Pope, in one of his letters, had said—" Cum corpus clare memorie Margarite Regine Scotie coruscet miraculis infinitis "[2]; this the writer in question interprets to mean " brilliant light-flashes coming from her remains up the ground, or from her tomb." He then proceeds—"Is it likely that the chemist or the necromancer of the years 1243-1249 could have produced on demand the appearances reported to have been seen at the 'blessed Margaret's' tomb? These bright light-flashes were never heard of *before the time* of this *the first* Lord Abbot of Dunfermline, and no allusion is ever made to them *after he ceased to be Abbot*—perhaps it would

[1] P. 81.   [2] *Registrum*, p. 181.

become unnecessary to repeat the miracles now, since the
object for which they had done duty had been attained,
viz., the canonisation of ' *the haly queene* ' ; *a splendid new
Tomb and Shrine* for the canonised saint ; and lastly, the
certain prospect, for ages to come, of an *everflowing-in of
money* into the Abbey exchequer, from the crowds of
devotees who would ever and anon come from far and
near to pay their adorations at her shrine." The italics,
it is needless to remark, are Dr Henderson's. The edge
is taken from the sarcasm when one knows, as almost
every educated Catholic does, that " coruscat miraculis "
is quite a common mode of expression in ecclesiastical
documents, and is merely an equivalent for our term
"resplendent with miracles."

The ceremony of the translation of St Margaret's
remains to the more honourable position prepared for
them took place on June 19, 1250, and must have been
a scene of great magnificence. It will be better to let the
author of the *Book of Pluscarden* tell the story, as he
describes the event in more concise form than some of the
others. The chronicle thus entitled is thought to have
been compiled by Maurice Buchanan, a cleric, and possibly
a monk ; he had been treasurer to the dauphiness, Princess
Margaret of Scotland, sister of James II.[1]

In the year following the coronation (of Alex. III.), namely, in 1250,
the king and the queen, his mother, together with the bishops and
abbots and other lords of the realm, met at Dunfermline, and there took
up the bones and remains of the glorious Queen Margaret, his great-
great-great-great-grandmother, from the stone monument wherein they
had rested for years and years,[2] and lifted them up with the utmost
devoutness and honour in a silver shrine set with gold and precious
stones ; and from her earlier tomb was given out a most sweet smell, so
that one would have thought the whole place was strewed with flowers

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[1] *Vide* preface to *Liber Pluscardensis*, edited by F. J. H. Skene, p. xix.
[2] She had been dead 157 years.

and spicy balms. Nor was there lacking a miracle of divine grace ; for after that far-famed coffer had first been placed in the outer church, and finally easily lifted by the sacred hands of bishops and abbots, that it might be placed on the top of the high altar in the choir, as had been pre-arranged in order to do it honour, when it was brought in procession, with organs[1] chanting and voices singing in chorus, up to the wicket in the chancel, near the tomb of her husband King Malcolm, . . . lo ! suddenly the arms of the bearers became as it were exhausted and power-less, so that, from the weight of the massy burden, they were unable to move the bier with the holy relics away from the spot any further.

The historian goes on to relate that in spite of the added strength of fresh bearers they were still unable to move until it was thought to be revealed by that sign that the holy queen would have the same honour shown to the remains of her husband,

since they were one flesh while they were in the world. . . . So after his tomb was opened and his bones were taken up, both biers were solemnly and in state brought to the appointed places without any trouble or effort.[2]

We learn from other sources that among this company were no less than eleven bishops. The Abbot, Robert de Keldelecht, had received from Pope Innocent IV. the privilege of the *pontificalia* five years before, and could therefore take his place among the prelates in all the insignia of his office.[3] We may remark that this same good abbot seems to have been over zealous in the exercise of his powers. Innocent IV. in 1248 forbad him to give the pontifical benediction in presence of any bishop who was unwilling for him to do so, and admonished him not to confer minor orders, as he had twice done already, on any clerics except his own subjects.[4]

1 This is the first mention of the organ in Scotland.
2 *Liber Pluscardensis*, p. 56.
3 *Registrum*, p. 180.
4 *Vide* Theiner, *Vetera Monumenta*, p. 50.

The church which was to be known for so many centuries as the shrine of St Margaret, measured at its completion 275 feet in length, from the western entrance to the extremity of its eastern Lady Chapel. The nave, 106 feet long and together with the aisles 55 feet wide, recalled in its somewhat sombre magnificence that of Durham. Its round arches rested on ten massive circular pillars, 20 feet high and 13 feet in circumference. Some of these were plain, others clustered, two were chiselled with zig-zag, and two with spiral-ribbed lines. The aisles were vaulted, but the nave had a wooden roof. The walls were decorated with beautiful arcading in the style of the nave arches. Over the junction of the transepts was a stately Lantern tower, 36 feet square and rising to the height of 156 feet. The choir contained some very beautiful Decorated Gothic windows which were to be seen as late as 1819, when they were demolished to make way for the execrable building in so-called Modern Gothic, which now occupies the site.

The great object of attraction, the shrine of the holy queen, stood on an erection of stone and marble, the relics enclosed in a costly ark of silver set with gems and encased in an oaken reliquary. It rose behind the high altar at the extremity of the choir and was approached by a procession path, running across the eastern end of the choir, probably resembling what is known as the "New Building" at Peterborough, but of less elaborate architecture because of earlier date. This would serve also for altar space for some of the many smaller altars of the church.

The exterior of the noble minster must have been very striking. Besides the Lantern Tower at the junction of the transepts, there was another tower towards the southwest about 80 feet high, and a third to the north-west.

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The church was entered at the west through a beautiful
Norman doorway, decorated with arcading. There was
a north porch 14 feet in length and 12 feet in breadth—
a common feature in Scottish churches to which a parish
was attached. In many places it bore the name of the
"Marriage Porch," as the first part of the ceremony was
commonly performed there. On the south, a door con-
nected the church with the cloister of the monastery.

The conventual buildings stood round a cloister-garth
measuring 105 feet square. The great refectory, por-
tions of which still remain, is the only building whose
site can be known with certainty. It occupied, as in
most instances, the side of the square furthest from the
church. The remains of this beautiful hall speak elo-
quently of the grandeur of the buildings in their complete
state. It measured 121 feet in length, 30 feet in height
and 34 feet in breadth. Near the east end of the south
wall was a reading pulpit in the thickness of the wall, its
roof of very beautiful groining in stone. In the west
gable was a large Gothic window, 20 feet high and 16 feet
wide, its seven lower lights surmounted by elaborate
tracery. Outside the south-west wall of the refectory an
arched gateway led from the outer street into the
monastery precincts ; this entrance was known as "The
Pends" (from *pendere*, to hang). It was overhung by a
solid, tower-like building connecting the monastery with
the palace. On the other side of the west gable of the
refectory rose a small turret containing a winding stair-
case, rising to the roof of the building and leading
downwards to a door in the street outside. The whole
of the property of the abbey in its immediate vicinity
was enclosed by a fine boundary wall which measured
some 3000 feet in length. Matthew of Westminster,
who probably visited it in person, describes the abbey

as of such vast extent and sumptuous buildings as to
be able to harbour at once three monarchs with their
respective trains.[1]

By the beginning of the fourteenth century the title of
the abbey had become that of the "Holy Trinity and St
Margaret." The change was but to be expected; for
the relics of the saint gave to Dunfermline a superiority
over other churches which nothing else could have done.
The body of one of the queens of Scotland drew to it
crowds of devout pilgrims during well-nigh four centuries.
It was the pivot upon which the life of the little city
itself turned; the object of loving care to the monks who
guarded their treasure so devoutly. All this is evidenced
in the vestiges of antiquity that remain to us. Queens-
ferry—*Portus Reginæ*, as it is called in old records—took
its name from the saint, either because it was used by
her, as Chalmers supposes,[2] or from the number of
pilgrims who landed there to visit her shrine in later
years. The seal of the burgh of South Queensferry
bears the representation of the saint in a small boat.[3]
"Pilgrims Cross" is a still more evident reference to the
shrine. It stood on the south side of the Edinburgh road
in the parish of Dalmeny, about a mile from South
Queensferry. Before the trees had grown up so as to
obscure the view, this would be the first spot whence the
pilgrim would catch sight of the minster, and where he
would perforce kneel to salute the saint, and thank God
with joy that his journey was well-nigh over. The lower
part of the cross with the old stone pedestal, between
3 and 4 feet square, was renovated to some extent
about fifty years ago. The cross and upper part of the
shaft disappeared at the Reformation. The eminence

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[1] *Registrum*, præf., p. xxv.   [2] *Caledonia*, vol. iv. p. 884.
[3] *Annals Dunf.*, p. 62.

upon which the cross stood as well as the neighbouring farm are both known as " Cross Hill."

The manner in which the inhabitants of the Burgh of Dunfermline identified themselves as the special servants of St Margaret is seen in the many provisions for her honour and the glory of her shrine scattered through the Burgh Records. " St Margaret's *Lichts* " figure frequently. In 1493 an entry notifies that—

John Kellock has a cow quilk giffs to St Margaret's Altar half ane pund of vax yeirly : [1]

(*i.e.* the tax on the cow, as the commentator explains). The seal of the burgh bore the figure of St Margaret under a canopy or *herss* with a lighted candle on either side—probably the *lichts* mentioned in the Records. The magistrates were the patrons of St Margaret's Altar, which stood to the south of the shrine; hence the following provisions for Masses, etc., thereat :

(1492). Schir Andrew Peirson,[2] Chaplain of the Service ; Schir Thomas Moffat, Chaplain of the Morning Service (*i.e.* Matins).

(1494). Schir Andrew Peirson, Chaplain ; Schir Steven Stirling, Chaplain of the Morning Service. Twenty shillings out of the common purse promised.

Other lights in the abbey church were endowed in like manner, as the same records witness. Thus we come across the following :

(1490). Rentall of Our Lady's Licht Silver. . . . The landis of David Couper, beneith the Tolbuith, paid the annual sum of 7 shillings, or else he must uphald ye little herss of wax.

(1496). The *littil herss* is again mentioned in connection with " Our Lady's *Licht*."

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[1] *Annals*, pp. 88, 119, 172, 173, etc.

[2] Schir, or Sir, was the ordinary title in the Middle Ages of a chaplain who had no university degree. The monks who did not act in the capacity of chaplain are alluded to in the Records under the title of *Dene* (*i.e.* Dom).

The *herss* in these cases means an open framework for lights, often placed before or suspended above an altar or image.[1]

In addition to these benefactions the burgh upheld many other altars in the Minster Church. As many as twenty are mentioned in the records between 1488 and 1500. These were:

1. The Great (or High) Altar.
2. Our Lady's.
3. The Haly Bluid.
4. The Rood.
5. St John's.
6. St Peter's.
7. St James'.
8. St Thomas'.
9. St Michael's.
10. St Salvator's.
11. St Lawrence's.
12. St Margaret's.
13. St Ninian's.
14. St Mary's (perhaps a second to Our Lady).
15. St Nicholas'.
16. St Cuthbert's.
17. St Stephen's.
18. St Trunzean's.
19. St Catherine's.
20. The Parish Altar.

Many of these were endowed with lands in or near the town, as evidenced by the titles, "The Rhoodes," "St Mary's Mill," "St Cuthbert's Lands," "Haly Bluid Acres," and the like, still attaching to those localities.

During the years 1480 and 1500 as many as thirty-five monks and chaplains are mentioned by name in the Burgh Records in connection with the abbey and its services. This in itself is sufficient to show the close bonds which subsisted between the town and the monastery.

Not only Dunfermline and its people, but other and greater benefactors had at heart the glory of the saint, her shrine and minster. King Robert the Bruce bestowed in free gift to the abbey, in 1315, the vicarage of the Church of Inverkeithing to provide "in honour of God and the Blessed Virgin Mary, and the aforesaid Blessed

[1] "Ane bracine hearse," a chandelier of brass.—Jamieson's *Scottish Dict. Suppl.*, p. 142.

Margaret, in the choir, in front of her shrine, one wax candle, to be solemnly lighted, continually and for ever." [1] With like devotion Randolph, Earl of Moray, grants a charter in 1321 in which he shows his love to St Margaret by expressing his wish to be buried in the minster; but, whether that request be granted or no, bequeaths certain lands to the abbey to provide a priest to say Mass daily for him, both during his life and after his death. Should he be buried in the minster, a candle is to burn at the head of his tomb and another at its foot during each of these Masses. Moreover, he provides for 96 pounds of wax annually to furnish candles which are to burn "solemnly in the accustomed manner . . . in honour of St Mary the Virgin, in her chapel within the conventual church of Dunfermline," on Christmas night, the feast of the Purification and that of the Assumption each year, for ever. [2]

As to the monks themselves we should scarcely expect to find any explicit record of their virtues; indeed, the absence of all record would seem to be their best eulogium. Yet history has not left us without written evidence. William de Lamberton, Bishop of St Andrews, in the grant of a benefice to the abbey in 1300, prefaces the donation with the commendation of the monks for the perfection of their regular discipline and the fervour of charity which reigned in the community to the glory of God and edification of their neighbour. [3] That these virtues subsisted in some at least of their number when the evil days of the Reformation dawned the sequel will show.

The perfection of discipline in a religious house concerns the worship of God, and in a Benedictine house this

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[1] "Unum cereum continue et in perpetuum accensum solemniter" (*Reg.*, p. 233).

[2] *Registrum*, p. 244. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 72.

worship is concentrated in the daily and solemn celebration of the divine office with the Mass as its centre.   We possess no direct evidence that the choir services at Dunfermline were carried out on a grander scale than in other Scottish monasteries of the period, except that the community was larger than in other houses of Black Monks, and consequently the resources more ample.   There were thirty-eight monks at the end of the fifteenth century.[1] We have seen that the abbey possessed an organ as early as 1250, which is evidence of some degree of solemnity in carrying out the offices of the Church.

With regard to their neighbours, the monks were in many respects benefactors in temporal as well as spiritual matters.   As early as 1173 there is evidence of their having under their direction schools for youth both in Perth and Stirling ; for mention is made of them in more than one charter from that time onwards.[2]   Moreover, it seems most probable that they had also a school within the abbey precincts. "Maister Robertus Henrison, notarius publicus," appears in connection with the abbey in 1477, and is spoken of by the Earl of Kellie in 1619 as "Robert Henrisoun, scholemaistr of Dunfermline." [3]   He was no mean poet, and his works have been collected and published by Dr Laing.[4]   One poem, called the *Abbey Walk*, seems to refer to the Minster :

> Alone as I went up and doun,
> In ane Abbey was fair to se, &c.

That this schoolmaster was one of the officials of the abbey seems clear from a later document, dated October 13,

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[1] *Annals*, p. 183.

[2] *Registrum*, pp. 56, 57, 63, 66, 81, 418.

[3] *Annals*, p. 176.

[4] *Poems and Fables of Robt. Henryson*, Laing, 1865.

1573. In this mention is made of "Johne Henrysoun" having been "Mr. of the Grammar Schole within the Abbay of Dunfermling"; the statement continues, "That quhair he and his predecessouris has continewit maisteris and teachearis of the youth in letters and doctrine to thair grit commoditie within the said Schole past memor of man admittit thairto be the Abbottis of Dunfermling for the tyme," &c.[1] It seems certain from these words that John Henrison was a descendant and successor of the poet Robert, and that both directed a school within the abbey precincts.

The charity of the monks towards the townsfolk is shown in the mention made in a charter of Abbot Robert de Carell, dated March 10, 1327, of the Chapel of St Catherine, with its almshouse, and in the directions given for daily and orderly distribution of alms to the poor at that place. The chapel stood outside the *West Port*, in St Catherine's Wynd.[2] Another name for the West Port was *Almonry Gate*; portions of it still remain.

The monks were benefactors to the district in another way also; they are believed to have set the example of coal mining in Scotland. The charter of William de Oberwill to Dunfermline Abbey in 1291, granting power to the monks to work the mine at Pittencrieff,[3] is one of the first documents relating to coal in Scottish history; and though coal is said to have been dug at Tranent in 1285,[4] that is no proof that it was found there before the Dunfermline monks discovered the mine at Pittencrieff. The charter in question is intended to secure the privilege

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[1] *Annals*, p. 729.   [2] *Ibid.*, p. 123.

[3] *Registrum*, p. 218.

[4] *Caledonia*, vol. ii. p. 793. For a long time the charter to the monks was considered the first of the kind, but Chalmers here states that he has seen that granted by James the Stewart in 1285 to William de Prestun of the lands of Tranent, with privileges in *petariis* et *carbonariis*.

of working the mine to the monks, and exclude all others, and it is possible that mining had already commenced when the deed was drawn up. It gives us an idea of the up-to-date spirit of the abbey, that it was some twenty or thirty years after this that coal came into more general use. In the reign of David II. (1329-1346) eighty-four chalders were purchased for the queen's use at a cost of £26, at a period when an ox cost about six shillings and a sheep about one shilling.[1]

It will be well to take a glance now at the part taken by Dunfermline Abbey in the history of Scotland. Malcolm III., according to Bishop Leslie, intended the minster to become the burial place of the Scottish kings. It was probably owing to the fact that his saintly queen was there laid to rest that this desire became to a great extent fulfilled. Malcolm himself, St Margaret, and their three sons and successors in the realm, Edgar, Alexander, and David, as well as Prince Edward, who died young, were all buried before or near the altar of the Holy Rood, which probably, as in most churches of the period, stood outside the Rood Screen, which marked the entrance of the choir. Malcolm and Margaret, as we have seen, were removed to a more eastern position when the new choir had been completed. In 1165 Malcolm IV., grandson and successor to David, was joined to his royal ancestors. In 1179, Godfrey de Melville bestowed upon the abbey the church of Melville, "in free and perpetual alms," to provide a light to burn "for ever" before the sepulchres of these two kings.[2] William the Lion and Alexander II. were interred elsewhere; the former in his favourite foundation of Arbroath, the latter at Melrose. Of succeeding sovereigns, Alexander III. and Margaret his

[1] Tytler, *Hist. of Scot.*, vol. i. (1879 ed.), p. 281.
[2] *Registrum*, p. 91.

queen, with their sons David and Alexander; Robert the Bruce and his queen Elizabeth, with their daughter Matilda, and Annabella Drummond, queen of Robert III. and mother of James I., were all buried there.

Queen Elizabeth, wife of Robert the Bruce, was provided with a daily requiem Mass "for ever" by her husband's generous endowment.[1]   King Robert himself was there laid to rest, amid the mourning of the whole nation, his obsequies being attended by a vast concourse of prelates and nobles.   His heart, by his own desire, was sent to the church of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem, as the only means of fulfilling a vow he had taken to make a pilgrimage thither.   An offering of £66 (equivalent to some £700, at least, of our money)[2] was made to the Abbot of Dunfermline for the funeral rites.   The king, like most of his predecessors, had already endowed the abbey with various lands.   King Robert III. provided for the offering of three Masses weekly, for ever, for his queen, who was interred there, and for his own soul.

Besides these royal personages, many nobles sought for sepulture in this kingly burying place.   Constantine and William Ramsay, Earls of Fife; Randolph, Earl of Moray, nephew of the Bruce, and Regent during the minority of David II.; Robert, Duke of Albany, Governor of Scotland, who died in 1419: these are some of the illustrious dead sheltered by the vaults of St Margaret's own minster.

Many notable facts of history centre round the abbey. An interesting legend, which all the old historians relate with lingering fondness of detail, witnesses to the popular belief in the constant care of the saintly patroness for the

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[1] *Annals*, p. 124.

[2] "The value and the denomination of money, down to the reign of Robert I., continued the same in Scotland and in England" (Tytler, *Hist. Scot.*, vol. i. p. 280).

country she had loved so well in life. It is related that
when Haco, King of Norway, led a hostile force against
Scotland in 1263, Sir John Wemys, then a poor crippled
soldier, but eventually restored by St Margaret to robust
health, beheld in a vision five figures issue from the porch
of Dunfermline Abbey on the night of October 3, the
date of the decisive Battle of Largs, in which the Norse-
men were routed. The figures are described as those of
a tall and stately queen, in the full bloom of matronly
beauty and clad in regal robes and diadem; a lordly knight
in shining armour, whom she led by the hand, and three
other noble warriors. They were St Margaret and
Malcolm and their kingly sons, prepared to battle for
their country and people.

The holy queen's power had frequently to be exercised
in defence of her own shrine. Many successive sovereigns
of England had claimed dominion over Scotland as feudal
lords to the Scottish kings. The claim seems to have
had its origin in the possession by the latter of certain
lands in England for which, according to feudal custom,
they had to do homage to the English king, as to their
liege lord. The claim was pressed beyond its due limits
by later kings, who maintained that the crown of Scotland
was held on condition of homage to them. Edward I.
was so bent upon enforcing his pretended rights as Lord
Paramount, that he several times entered Scotland with
an army and compelled the nobility and prelates to swear
fealty to him. Any want of submission was severely
punished, especially with regard to the religious houses,
many of them being sacked and ruined by the insolent
invaders. The successors of Edward I. carried on the
struggle with Scotland, though with less energy; the
claim to paramount sovereignty had for its real object the
union of Scotland to the English crown, and that design

was never relinquished until it was brought about at Elizabeth's death. Consequently, the history of Scotland is full of examples of the attempts of English monarchs to achieve the subjugation of the northern kingdom. Edward I. visited Dunfermline in 1291, and called upon the monks to acknowledge him as Overlord of Scotland. Three times after that did he revisit it during the twelve years that followed—years marked by pillage and demolition on the part of his soldiers. On the last occasion, in 1303, with an utter want of gratitude for the princely hospitality received there, he ordered his army, before leaving, to fire the buildings. The church with its shrine overawed the soldiers, and it was spared, but the monastery suffered considerably. Another English king, Richard II., is said to have again set fire to the monastery in 1385.

A few other historical facts are specially worthy of notice. In 1295 the treaty was ratified between John Baliol and Philip IV. of France, in which the latter bound himself to give his niece in marriage to Edward Baliol, son and heir of the former. In Dunfermline Abbey, also, occurred the meeting between Robert II. and the French ambassador in 1389, to renew the truce with France.

The patriot Wallace was held in the greatest esteem in the abbey. He is said to have taken refuge there from the English invaders in 1303. His chaplain, Arnold Blair, became a monk at Dunfermline after the hero's death, in 1305, and a few years later wrote a history of his renowned patron.

Many of the abbots were men of note. The first mitred abbot, Robert de Keldelecht, was Chancellor of Scotland during the minority of Alexander III. Falling under suspicion of complicity in a political scheme in opposition to that king, he voluntarily resigned his chancellorship, and a little later his abbacy, and retired as a

simple monk to the Cistercian house of Newbottle. He
eventually became Abbot of Melrose. Richard de Bothuel
was appointed one of the committee of Parliament in
1449, to revise, collate, and authenticate the previous
Acts of Parliament since the commencement of James I.'s
reign. He was, moreover, one of the three ecclesiastics
chosen to administer justice in various places in Scotland
during a year of pestilence (1456-57), and was also placed
on a committee to regulate the coinage. Henry Creichton
was presented to the abbacy by James III. This is the
first instance of the canonical election having been set
aside by royal mandate. James Stuart, second son of
James III., held the abbey in perpetual *commendam* from
1502. He was archbishop of St Andrews, and died at
the early age of twenty-eight. James Bethune, or
Beaton, uncle of the famous cardinal, became abbot in
1504. He afterwards obtained the archbishopric of
Glasgow, and eventually the primacy. He filled the
offices of Lord High Treasurer and Chancellor of the
kingdom, and was one of the Lords of the Regency under
the Duke of Albany. Abbot Hepburn became Lord
Treasurer in 1515. Andrew Forman, Archbishop of St
Andrews, held the abbacy *in commendam* for some five or
six years; he was buried in the abbey. Dunfermline,
like many other religious houses of the period, had to
submit to the indignity of accepting as Commendator or
nominal superior one of the base-born sons of a king of
Scotland, when Alexander Stuart was presented with the
abbacy by his father, James IV. The unworthy custom
of presentation to benefices in place of canonical election
began in Scotland in the fifteenth century, and was one of
the chief causes of the decadence in discipline which
rendered the overthrow of the monasteries an easy matter
when the time arrived.

That woeful day for Dunfermline was March 28, 1560. The Lords of the Congregation, Lindsay of Pitscottie, tells us, "past to Stirling, and be the way kest doun the Abbey of Dunfermling."[1] The choir was reduced to ruins, the fanatics wreaking a special vengeance upon the holiest portion of the fabric. The organ was broken up into fragments, the north-west tower with its blessed bells almost entirely demolished and the bells destroyed. The monastery was utterly ruined and the twenty-six monks dispersed. Yet such was their love for their desolated sanctuary and cloister, that as late as 1580,

a few Benedictines of Dunfermline with doors bolted and barred kept watch in their choir by the shrines of St Margaret and St David, the sepulchres of Bruce and Randolph.[2]

The statement is sufficient refutation of the sweeping accusation levelled against the monks by Rev. E. Henderson, who says, in his *Annals*,[3] that the Conventional brethren " had become careless, lazy, vicious, and, in too many instances, abandoned characters." The charge, made without proof, is evidently put forward in extenuation of the wholesale destruction of the abbey.

In anticipation of coming troubles the casket which contained the chief relics of St Margaret had already, before the wreck of the monastery, been removed to a place of safety. A Life of St Margaret, published in 1660, gives the following particulars :

The Coffer or Chest, which contained the Sacred Relics of St Margaret in Dunfermline Abbey, was of silver enriched with precious stones, and was placed in the noblest part of the church. When the hereticks had stoln into the kingdome, trampled under foot all Divine and human lawes, and seized the sacred moveables of the Abbey, something of greater veneration and value were saved from their sacreligious hands

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by being transplanted to Edinburgh Castle.[1] Some holy men, fearing
that the Castle might be assaulted, transplanted the Coffre wherein was
the head and haire [2] of St Margaret, and some other moveables of great
value, into the Castle of the Barony of Dury.[3] This lord was a
reverend father and priest, and "monck of Dunfermling,"[4] who, after
his monastery was pillaged, and the religious forced to fly away, dwelt in
this castle.[5]

The subsequent history of the relics is thus related in
a MS. of the date of 1696 by Fr. Augustin Hay, Canon
Regular of St Geneviève's, Paris :

St Margaret's relics were, in 1597, delivered into the hands of the
Jesuit missionaries in Scotland, who, seeing they were in danger of being
lost or prophaned, transported them to Antwerp, where John Malderus,
Bishop of that city, after diligent examin upon oath, gave an authentic
attestation, under the Seal of his office, the 5 of Septembre 1620 ; and
permitted them to be exposed to the veneration of the people. . . . Her
relics are kept in the Scots Colledge of Doway in a Bust of Silver. Her
skull is enclosed in the head of the Bust, whereupon there is a Crown of
Silver gilt, enriched with severall Pearls and Precious Stones. In the
Pedestall, which is of Ebony, indented with Silver, her hair is kept and
exposed to the view of every one through a Glass of Crystall. The
Bust is reputed the third Statue in Doway for its valour (value ?). There
are likewise severall Stones, Red and Green, on her Breast, Shoulders
and elsewhere. I cannot tell if they be upright, their bigness makes me
fancy that they may be counterfitted.[6]

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[1] The Bollandists say that this was by desire of Queen Mary, Act. SS.
tom. xxii. p. 335.

[2] The hair, of golden auburn, is said to have been very abundant.

[3] This was at Craigluscar, three miles north-west of Dunfermline
(*Hist. Dunf.*, vol. ii. p. 157).

[4] George Dury was the last real abbot, and was head of the family in
question (*ibid., loc. cit.*).

[5] Quoted from *Annals of Dunf.*, p. 202. According to the Diurnal
of Occurrents, "Upoun the xix. day of Januar [1560], the erle of
Eglintoun and the abbot of Dunferling past to France furth of Dunbar"
(*Regis.*, præf., p. xvii.). This would be the January following the
destruction, as the year was then counted from March 25 to March 25.

[6] *Annals*, p. 202.

The sacred treasure unfortunately disappeared in subsequent revolutionary troubles. Philip II. of Spain at the Reformation endeavoured to obtain possession of the relics of St Margaret and her husband, and some considerable parts, if not the whole remaining portions, were supposed to have been preserved in the Escurial. When Bishop Gillis, in 1862, visited Spain in the hope of procuring some of these relics, he found that the Peninsular War had produced much confusion among the treasures of the Escurial, and had considerable difficulty in prosecuting his search. He eventually obtained, by permission of Queen Isabella II., a large relic of St Margaret, which he brought to Scotland, where it is still venerated in the convent of nuns dedicated to the Saint in Edinburgh.[1]

Thus rose and fell the royal Abbey of Dunfermline. Its immense possessions, extending over almost the whole of the western part of Fifeshire, and portions of the southern and eastern districts of the county, brought in vast revenues. No less than thirty-seven churches and chapels had been bestowed upon it by various kings, and the flocks belonging to them were in the spiritual care of the monks and their representatives. The temporal possessions were erected into an earldom, and conferred in 1605 on Alexander Seton, who received the title of Earl of Dunfermline. The spiritual responsibilities attaching to the abbey were matter of little moment to the spoilers, and the disregard of them tended, as in so many other cases, to deprive the people of that Catholic faith to which the majority were ready to cling at all hazards, had means been afforded them.

The former nave of the abbey church still stands, and is treasured by the people of the burgh. It forms merely the vestibule to the modern structure for Presbyterian worship

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[1] *History of St Margaret's Convent, Edinburgh*, p. 160.

which occupies the place of the former choir.   The church-
yard which surrounds it still bears the title of the " Psalter
(pronounced *Satur*) Churchyard " ; it was the name given,
with a perspicacity scarcely to be expected from any but
a thoroughly Catholic people, to the choir of the ancient
Minster in the days of its glory.   Truly, Scottish place-
names die hard !

COLDINGHAM PRIORY

Coldingham, the most important of the dependencies of
Dunfermline, had a position in history many centuries
before the latter came into being.   In 870 it was the
nunnery of the heroic St Ebba ; the brave abbess and
her sisters in religion mutilated their faces to escape a
fate worse than death, and were martyred by the Danes.
In 1098, King Edgar, son of St Margaret, in conjunction
with the Prior of Durham, refounded Coldingham as
a monastery for men.   The King attributed to St Cuth-
bert's aid his success in driving from his throne the usurper
who had seized it.   Fordun relates a vision which was
vouchsafed to Edgar, in which St Cuthbert bade him carry
before his army the standard of the Saint from the
monastery of Durham, promising a complete victory
should he do so.[1]   When the victory had been obtained,
Edgar longed to show his gratitude to the Saint, and the
donation to Durham of Coldingham with ample endow-
ments was the outcome of this.

The monastery, dedicated to St Mary and St Cuthbert,
was entirely dependent upon Durham, from which abbey
it had been first colonised.   From the remains still to be
seen, the church appears to have been of good size ; it
was probably 220 feet in length and 25 feet in width.

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[1] *Chronica Gentis Scotorum*, lib. v. cap. 25.

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It had a transept measuring 45 feet by 34 feet, and a tower or steeple 90 feet in height fell in 1770. Its architecture was a combination of Norman and Early English. The north wall, which may still be seen, is decorated with a rich arcading of pointed arches, which is conjectured to have been the work of Prior Melsonby, a man of great taste, who, when later on he became Prior of Durham, was engaged in the construction of the splendid portion of that Minster known as the " Nine Altars."

The conventual buildings stood on the south of the church. There seems to have been accommodation for at least thirty monks. The revenues were ample, as a good number of the churches in Berwickshire depended upon the priory, and beside Scottish monarchs, nobles and gentry of the shire had liberally endowed it. One grant of Robert I. is worthy of mention : the monks were to have five harts every year from the forest of Selkirk, to enable them to celebrate worthily the feast of the Translation of St Cuthbert. Benefactions to Coldingham as well as to the mother abbey were entered in the Durham *Liber Vitæ*.

As long as the priory remained under Durham, the prior and monks of the latter house claimed the right of voting in the election of the Prior of Coldingham—a right not always granted without much dispute. The Sacrist, an important official, who often rose to the priorate, was also nominated by Durham. The result was that the majority of the Priors of Coldingham were Englishmen, although the priory itself stood in the diocese of St Andrews.

Situated as it was in the border country, Coldingham suffered somewhat less than the rest of the southern monasteries in the frequent warfare which disturbed that district, its connection with Durham and St Cuthbert

forming a protection from English attack.   Nevertheless, such motives were not strong enough to prevent King John from plundering it, as he retired from an unsuccessful incursion into Lothian in 1216.   Lord Hailes says that he burned the monastery.[1]   The priors, in self-defence, sought protection from both kingdoms, and were more than once confirmed in their possession by English as well as Scottish sovereigns.

The first attempted union with Dunfermline was the result of jealousy between the two countries with regard to the connection of the priory with both.   Robert Claxton, a Durham monk, who became prior in 1375, was accused and convicted of betrayal of the interests of the Scottish King by peculation and misrule.   Robert II. consequently resolved upon his expulsion and the annexation of the priory to Dunfermline.   A colony of monks from the Scottish abbey were indeed sent to take possession, but met with a vigorous resistance on the part of the English monarch, as several letters in the *Priory of Coldingham* testify.[2]   The union was not permanent, Durham continuing to exercise the same rights as previously.   The priory suffered much from contests between the Crown and the family of Home, who in an evil day had been made bailiffs; the latter eventually obtained the possession of the house at the Reformation.

The resolution of James III. to annex Coldingham to the Chapel Royal at Stirling cost that monarch his life at the battle of Sauchie.   Eventually, in 1509, it was united to Dunfermline by Pope Julius II., under James IV.'s natural son, Alexander Stuart, who was Commendatory Abbot.   The union was but short; in the English invasion of 1544 Somerset seized it and fortified the tower, and Arran tried unsuccessfully for three days to dislodge

[1] *Annals*, i. 143.   [2] *Vide* pp. 45-64.

the intruders by his artillery. When the garrison eventually fled, they took care to give the buildings to the flames. When the change of religion put an end to all monastic life, Coldingham became the property of the Homes, who had so long ruled its destinies.

The cannon of Cromwell in 1648 completed the utter destruction of Coldingham Priory; nothing remains of the old buildings but a few foundations, portions of the north and east walls, now built into the modern parish church, and one of the gates.

Urquhart and Pluscarden Priories

The Priory of Urquhart, or Urchard, in Moray, was founded by David I. in 1125, and colonised from Dunfermline. Beyond the circumstance of its union with Pluscarden, to be referred to later, scarcely any facts remain of its history except the names of its priors, who were nominated by the Abbot of Dunfermline, though the Urquhart community sometimes tried to claim a right to elect. Even as its records have disappeared, so also have its buildings, with the exception of some grass-grown mounds which mark the foundations. For in 1654 most of the stone was carried off to repair the manse, and for other purposes. Its site is only to be identified with the " Abbey Well." At the Reformation the lands passed into possession of Alexander Seton, a favourite of James VI., the recipient being granted the title of Baron Urquhart, which was afterwards merged into that of Earl of Dunfermline, also granted to Seton.

The Priory of Pluscarden, or Pluscardyn, which in its latter days became connected with Dunfermline, has a more interesting history. It was founded by Alexander II. in 1230, in a beautiful valley about six miles from Elgin,

in Moray, as a priory of the Order known as that of
Vallis Caulium.   This Order owed its origin to Guido,
or Vido, a lay brother of the Carthusian monastery of
Louvigny, who with the permission of his superiors retired
to a cave in a wooded valley to dwell there as a hermit.
His fame attracted disciples who wished to share his
solitude and penitential life.   Odo III., Duke of Burgundy,
in whose territory Guido's hermitage was situated, became
greatly interested in the recluse, and frequently visited his
cell for spiritual converse.   This nobleman eventually built
there a small monastery in which commenced the Order
of *Vallis Caulium*, approved of by Pope Innocent III., in
1204, and again by Honorius III., who, twenty years later,
sanctioned the rule drawn up by the founder.   This rule
was a combination of that of the Cistercians and the Car-
thusians.   The way of life was at first extremely rigorous,
but was mitigated later, and became almost identical with
that of the Cistercians.   Most of the monasteries of this
Order were situated in France, but it had three Scottish
houses, of which Pluscarden was the earliest foundation.
William de Malvoisin, one of the most distinguished pre-
lates of his day, who was successively Bishop of Glasgow,
Primate, Chancellor of the kingdom, and Papal Legate,
is credited with the introduction of the Valliscaulian Order
into Scotland.   In 1215 he took part in the Fourth
Lateran Council, together with other Scottish Bishops.
It is probable that on his way through France, where he
had relatives, he became acquainted with the new Order,
then in its first fervour, and resolved to bring some of
these observant monks to Scotland, as an edifying example
to ecclesiastics there.   They became known as "Kail
Glen" monks—a Scottish equivalent for the name *Val
des Choux*, the valley in which the mother house was
situated.

The buildings of the priory were of considerable extent, as is shown by its remains. The church was never completed beyond the choir and transepts; for there are but the bases of the pillars marking a contemplated nave. The choir measured 56 feet in length by 21 feet in breadth, and had no aisles. The transepts—about 100 feet in entire length—had eastern aisles, each of them containing two bays for altars. From the south transept a flight of stone steps led up to the dormitory of the monks, on the upper floor of the adjoining monastery. The architecture is very fine Early English and Decorated. A square chapel of later date than the rest of the church bears the name of the "Dunbar Vestry." It is believed to have been built by Alexander Dunbar, the last of the Benedictine priors; like the body of the building, it is roofless. Round the interior of the church are still to be seen some of the consecration crosses. On the north side of the altar is one of the stone sacrament houses peculiar to this part of Scotland. It is really a tabernacle in the wall for the reservation of the Sacred Species. Over the space left for the door are angels carved in the stone, bearing a monstrance. Though less artistic than some other instances in the neighbourhood—Cullen and Deskford, in Banffshire, for example—the Pluscarden tabernacle is very interesting. Antiquarians have puzzled themselves in striving to ascertain the reason of these stone receptacles, as the usual method of reservation was in a pyx suspended over the high altar. It has been conjectured that the stone tabernacle was either for security during the night or for the convenience of the sick—since the Blessed Sacrament might be taken from it at any time without disturbing the monks in choir. At Pluscarden, however, the latter reason would scarcely hold good, as it would have been necessary to pass through the choir to get to the tabernacle.

Under the arch which forms the entrance to the choir from the transept may still be discerned traces of an ancient fresco. Nothing can be seen now except a blue heaven with golden stars and the lines of a red robe ; but a visitor of the eighteenth century, when the picture was probably more distinct, has described it as St John the Evangelist writing his Gospel. Traces of painting may be seen in other parts of the church also. It seems probable that the skilled painter, Andrew Bairhum, employed by Abbot Reid in the decoration of the abbey church of Kinloss, may have exercised his talents in the neighbouring priory.

The monastic buildings stood round a cloister garth, 100 feet square. Nearest the church was the chapterhouse, 28 feet square, its vaulted roof supported by a central pillar. Further on towards the south was the calefactory, or common room of the community. It was a noble room with a vaulted stone roof resting upon two pillars, which divided it into two portions like aisles. Over these buildings ran the monks' dormitory and a small private chapel for the use of the prior. On the south side of the square was the refectory, and the kitchen was near it. The prior's lodge seems to have stood towards the south-east of the other buildings.

Urquhart Priory, only a few miles beyond Elgin, had become reduced in numbers; in 1453 there were only two monks left, and as at Pluscarden there were only six, Pope Nicholas V., in answer to a petition from the Prior of Urquhart, united the houses to form a single priory under the Abbey of Dunfermline. The reasons given were the reduced revenues of both houses, which made it impossible to maintain them efficiently in independence, and the exceedingly small numbers of the inmates of each. The Pope accordingly decreed that the Pluscarden monks

should accept the rule and habit of the Benedictines, the then prior, Andrew Haag, having of his own will resigned the superiority.

The statement, passed from pen to pen by countless Protestant writers, that the union was the consequence of the evil lives of the Pluscarden monks, who " had become very licentious, and had given themselves up to gross immoralities,"[1] is refuted with some warmth by Mr Macphail, as having no foundation in fact. Nothing of the kind is mentioned in the Bull of Nicholas V.; indeed, common sense would suggest that the mere advent of two monks from Urquhart would be scarcely likely to reform the six "very licentious" monks of Pluscarden.

In this way Pluscarden became a dependency of Dunfermline, and in 1454 William de Boyis, Sacrist of the Abbey, was delegated to receive the profession of the Vallis Caulium monks and take formal possession of the house. This same William de Boyis eventually became prior of the newly attached house, the former Prior of Urquhart returning to Dunfermline, to which Pluscarden remained attached till the fall of that abbey. In 1524 there were twelve monks in residence beside the prior; the Benedictine superiors were six in all.

When Prior Dunbar died in 1560, Alexander Seton became Commendator and drew the revenues, together with those of Urquhart.

In 1595 the property was bought by the Mackenzies of Kintail; later on it passed into the family of the Duke of Fife. A few years before his death the third Marquess of Bute bought Pluscarden, and placed the ruins and their surroundings in perfect order.

On two occasions when the present writer visited the ancient monastery, the calefactory was filled with pews,

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[1] Young, *Annals of Elgin*, 1879.

and the large fire-place was obscured by a pulpit; for the apartment served as a Presbyterian kirk for the district. The monks' dormitory (horrible to relate) had been floored and roofed to serve as a tenants' ball-room! Shooting-parties took their luncheon in the chapter-house.

But, thanks to a Catholic proprietor, such anomalies have come to an end.

Not the least of the charms of this interesting place is the secluded monastery garden. Many of the ancient walnut and other trees which supplied the monks with fruit are still flourishing. In recesses in the high wall beehives once stood. The quiet of the place, far removed from any dwelling, except that of the custodian at the lodge near the entrance gate, seems to breathe still of monastic peace and rest.

PRIORY OF THE ISLE OF MAY

The small island lying at the mouth of the Firth of Forth has many ecclesiastical traditions connected with it. The earliest is that which makes it the scene of the martydom by the Danes of St Adrian and his companions in the ninth century. An old legend, followed by the Breviary of Aberdeen, refers to the saint and his companion-martyrs as Hungarians, who came to Scotland to preach the Gospel among the Picts; but modern historians identify St Adrian with the Irish missionary Odhran, who was driven from his country by Danes and came to Scotland, where he evangelised the eastern counties with the help of his disciples. The saint eventually founded a monastic retreat on the Island of May, and there fell a victim to the Danes, together with several companions.[1]

[1] *Proceedings of Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, vol. iv. p. 316, etc.

In the face of the cliff at Caiplie, opposite the island, some caves are still to be seen whose interiors show rude carvings of crosses; these are traditionally associated with the same saint. St Monan, who gave his name to the place now called Abercromby, which he evangelised, was a disciple of St Odhran; so also, most probably, was St Ethernan, who was specially honoured on the island, and was an early missionary in the counties of Fife, Forfar, and Aberdeen, which all retain some of his place-names.

When David I. was occupied in making his numerous monastic foundations in the twelfth century, he fixed upon the Isle of May as the site of one of them. The choice could hardly have been suggested by the suitable nature of the place; its exposed position, and the difficulty of access to it in stormy weather, rendered it anything but a desirable habitation. But there can be no doubt that the King was influenced by the sacred associations connected with the spot, as he was in many other foundations of the kind.

Although the foundation-charter is no longer in existence, it is clear from later documents referring to it that David gave the priory to the Benedictine Abbey of Reading, then recently founded by his brother-in-law, Henry I. of England. This is the only instance of his having peopled a Scottish monastery with Black Monks from England, except in the case of Dunfermline; and the latter can scarcely be regarded as his foundation, as he merely completed what St Margaret, his mother, had begun. David's other houses of Black Monks were colonised from France.

The Priory of the Isle of May was founded for nine monk-priests, who were bound to celebrate daily for the well-being of the soul of the royal founder, and those

of his predecessors and successors, Kings of Scotland. David I. was liberal in endowments, and these were increased later by his successors, Malcolm the Maiden, and William the Lion. The priory thus obtained many valuable possessions on the mainland, both north and south of the Forth, as well as property in Berwick and Dunbar. The churches of Anstruther in Fife, and Rhynd in Perthshire, belonged to the priory; in the latter parish, where some valuable land had been bestowed on the monks by King David, a cell, or small monastery, was established in dependence upon that of May—probably for the better overseeing of the property there. Some of the income of the priory was derived from tithes on various fishings, and from taxes on vessels coming to Anstruther and Pittenweem. At the latter place there seems to have been a cell, since a charter, supposed to date A.D. 1221, has Adam, "Prior of Pittenweem," as witness. He was most probably Prior of May also, as Pittenweem would scarcely be important enough to enjoy the rank of a priory.

A monastery in so remote a position could make little history. The records of May are therefore wanting in historical events. Under William the Lion (1165-1214) the number of monks had increased to thirteen, as one of his charters states. It is possible, however, that the nine mentioned in the deed of foundation referred to those in priestly orders only. It is a curious fact that William alludes to the monks in the charter in question as *de ordine Cluniacensi*—"of the Cluniac Order"; it is certain nevertheless that the priory was always subject to Reading Abbey, which had no connection with Cluny. It is possible that the monks of May had adopted some of the Cluny observances, in their zeal for good discipline—but this is merely conjecture. From the same charter we

learn that the church of the priory was dedicated to All Saints.[1]

Mention has been made of St Ethernan as connected with the island; one of the charters shows this in the donation of Alexander, Earl of Buchan, of a stone of wax, or forty shillings annually, to "St Ethernan's lamp"—probably that which burned before his altar— "in the Isle of May, and to the monks serving God and St Ethernan in that place."[2] Buchan, in Aberdeenshire, it may be noted, was under St Ethernan's patronage.

The fortunes of the priory became involved in the disputes between the English and Scottish monarchs. Its dependence upon the Abbey of Reading gave rise to suspicions that the English might make use of the island as a position for spying out the defenceless parts of the coast; the danger seemed aggravated by the appointment in 1269 of an English monk from the mother-abbey as prior. Alexander III. accordingly resolved to acquire the priory by purchase from the English abbey. This was carried out by Bishop Wishart of St Andrews, by payment of 1100 merks; the priory was then bestowed upon the Austin Canons of St Andrews. The transaction did not meet with the approval of all the Reading monks, and the successor of Robert de Burghgate, who had been responsible for it, appealed against the alienation of the priory, sending two representatives to the Scottish Parliament in 1292, to claim the restitution of the house. Failing to obtain redress, the Abbot of Reading had recourse to Edward I., who seized the opportunity to further his designs on Scotland, and summoned John Baliol, whom he styled "his beloved and faithful John, illustrious King of Scotland," to appear before him as

"King and Over-Lord of the Kingdom of Scotland," and answer to the abbot on the matter.[1]

The summons, however, although four times repeated, met with no response. In spite of Edward I. and the Abbot of Reading, the Isle of May with its priory and all the possessions of that house remained the property of the Canons of St Andrews until the Reformation.[2]   It had been in the hands of Benedictines for over a century. With its history after passing from its monastic owners we are not concerned here.

[1] *Records*, p. lxxxvii.   [2] *Ibid.*, p. xxv.

CHAPTER III

Kelso, Arbroath, and Kilwinning Abbeys

THE second group of Scottish monasteries comprised those houses which followed the observance instituted at the Abbey of Tiron, in Picardy. This abbey owed its origin to Blessed Bernard of Abbeville,[1] a disciple and intimate friend of Blessed Robert of Arbrissel, founder of the Congregation of Fontevraud. Bernard was at one time a monk at St Cyprian's, Poitiers, of which house he became abbot, but resigned his office for a more austere way of life. He founded in the woods of Tiron, in 1109, a humble monastery, whose admirable discipline attracted numerous inmates. One of the chief features of its rule was the exercise of various crafts by the monks, each one being bound to practise some useful art as a preventive of idleness.[2] In the beginning a habit of an ashen-grey colour was worn by the monks, but black was afterwards adopted, in conformity with the universal Benedictine practice.

Kelso Abbey

When Earl David, heir-presumptive to the throne of Scotland, wished to establish a monastery near his resi-

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[1] His life is recounted by the Bollandists, *Acta*, tom. ii. Aprilis, p. 220.

[2] In this regulation Bernard was but enforcing St Benedict's own words: "Otiositas inimica est animæ; et ideo certis temporibus occupari debent Fratres in labore manuum," *Reg. S. Bened.*, cap. xlviii.

dence at Selkirk, it was to Tiron that he looked, attracted
by the fame of its perfect discipline, for monks to form
the first community.   This was in 1113.   From this little
colony descended the inmates of the abbeys of Kelso,
Arbroath, Kilwinning, and Lindores, and the priories of
Lesmahagow and Fyvie.

When Earl David ascended the throne under the title
of David I., he transferred the monks from Selkirk—"a
place unsuitable for an abbey"[1]—to the vicinity of his
castle at Roxburgh.   On the opposite side of the Tweed
from the town was a little church dedicated to St Mary
the Virgin.   The place whereon it stood was known as
Calchou (the Chalk Hill).   Here arose the abbey which
was to become so notable a home of religion under the
name of KELSO.   The town which gradually grew up
around it was eventually to dominate the older and royal
burgh, and Roxburgh, once " the fourth town in Scotland
in point of importance and population,"[2] is now a mere
suburb of the modern Kelso.

It was about the year 1128 that King David commenced
the buildings which his successors were to bring to com-
pletion.   The abbey church of Kelso, though it rose at
about the same period as the southern minsters of Canter-
bury and Peterborough, had little in common with either
as regards style of architecture.   Its ground-plan, like
that of most monastic churches of the time, was cruciform ;
but the cross lay with its head to the west.   For at Kelso
there was the somewhat unusual construction of choir and
transepts without a nave.   The place of the latter was
supplied by a rectangular building precisely similar to the
transepts in size and character.   The reason of this has
much puzzled some writers, but it is not really difficult to

[1] " Quia locus non erat conveniens Abbathie."—*Registrum*, p. 5.
[2] *New Statis. Acct.*, vol. iii. p. 130.

explain. Kelso was a purely monastic church. There were already two churches in Roxburgh and another at Maxwell, hard by, when the abbey was founded; consequently there was no need of a nave to afford room for lay worshippers, though an extensive choir was built for the monks.

Exteriorly the most striking feature of the Abbey Church of St Mary and St John, Kelso, was its massive tower, 91 feet high. It was of later date than the choir, which was, as in most churches of the period, the first portion to be erected. The vicinity of the Border, and the consequent danger of frequent warlike attacks, had influenced the style of the great tower. Its massive masonry and its buttresses, like smaller towers, gave it the appearance of some sturdy Norman castle rather than a monastic church. Nevertheless, the wisdom which had designed and constructed so secure a stronghold was apparent in many a Border skirmish, when its safe recesses stood the monks in good stead. Another remarkable feature was the great western doorway with its richly decorated Norman arch. A smaller entrance into the north transept under a shallow porch adorned with intersecting arcades—its gable carved all over with a network ornament—is still the admiration of the antiquary.

Interiorly the church abounded in decorative features. The three arms of the cruciform plan bore lofty structures, measuring 23 feet square. Their walls were entirely covered with graceful arcadings of interlaced Norman arches, behind the upper tiers of which ran passages in the thickness of the wall, communicating with the triforium and clerestory over the choir-aisles. The central tower, also 23 feet square, was supported by beautiful clustered pillars, from which sprang four spacious pointed arches, each rising to the height of 45 feet. Above

these, high up in the tower, ran row after row of smaller
arches.   The effect of all this splendid symmetrical decora-
tion must have been superb.   Even in decay it presents a
picture of stately elegance rarely to be met with in build-
ings of the period.   The choir arches were of massive
semicircular style, resting on Norman columns.   A Lady
Chapel terminated the building towards the east.

This glorious church occupied about a century in build-
ing.   Much of the actual work was carried on by the
monks themselves, in accordance with the principle laid
down by Blessed Bernard, their founder.   This will
account for the lavish decoration still remaining ;   but
what must have been the beauty of the church in all the
glory added to it by wood-carving, metal-work, stained
glass and painting, in all of which the monks of the
Congregation of Tiron were skilled artists ?

The conventual buildings of the abbey stood round a
cloister-garth to the south of the church ;   they were,
doubtless, of great extent and of noble architecture, to
judge from the remains of the church.   The emissaries
of Henry VIII., indeed, when engaged in the wholesale
destruction which had been entrusted to them, spoke of
them as "great and superfluous buildinges of stone, of
gret height and circuit as well about the churche as the
lodgings." [1]

The royal founder endowed his abbey with a generous
hand.   He bestowed upon it all the churches and schools
of Roxburgh, besides certain lands and rents belonging to
that town.   These churches were three in number : Holy
Sepulchre, attached to a prebendal stall in Glasgow
Cathedral, St John's within the castle, and St James's
outside the walls.   Roger de Auldton, in after years,
founded a chantry in the latter church for Mass for his

[1] *State Papers*, Part IV., p. 514.

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own soul and those of his relatives, giving to the Abbot of Kelso the right of presentation to it.   Besides the property in the town, David granted the abbey a share in fishings and produce of mills, together with many manors, pasturages, lands, salt-works, and suchlike sources of revenue.   The monks had liberty also to dig turfs for firing from the moors.   At a later date the king added many other privileges.   Malcolm IV.[1] and William the Lion, David's successors, confirmed all these grants.   The barons followed the pious example set by their monarchs in gifts to this monastery, so that before the end of the thirteenth century it had thirty-four parish churches, in addition to its farms, fisheries, and other possessions, spread over the shires of Roxburgh, Selkirk, Peebles, Lanark, Dumfries, Ayr, Edinburgh and Berwick.   Even as far north as Aberdeenshire there was a dependency of Kelso, in the Church of Culter.   The Abbot of Kelso, on account of these numerous benefactions, became more opulent than most of the Scottish bishops.[2]   He held the livings of some thirty-three churches, many of which were served by chaplains only, in place of vicars.

The first abbot was Ralph.   Both he and his successor William are said by Scottish chroniclers to have been translated to the abbacy of Tiron; this, however, is not borne out by the works of French writers on the subject. It was under Herbert, the third abbot, that the community migrated from Selkirk; this prelate eventually became Bishop of Glasgow.   His successor, Arnold, was much engaged in State affairs; he was made Bishop of St Andrews.   Abbot John, the next in order, obtained from

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[1] The *Registrum* gives a curious donation from Malcolm: "Half the fat of the *Craspics* (whales) found stranded on the shores of the Forth." —*Reg.*, p. v.

[2] *Caledonia*, vol. iii. p. 158.

Pope Alexander III. the right of using the *pontificalia*,
His successor, Osbert, was one of the deputies sent to
Rome by William the Lion to obtain the removal of an
interdict.   He bore back to the King the Golden Rose,
the gift of Lucius III.   Abbot Henry was present in the
4th Lateran Council in 1215.   Many other prelates were
distinguished men in their day.

Some idea is gained of the power and prestige of the
abbots of Kelso by a glance at some of the charters
granted by them.   Thus Bernard de Haudene obtained
leave for a private chapel in his mansion, with the proviso
that on Christmas Day, Easter Day, and the Feast of St
Michael his household should attend the parish church of
Sprouston, and should at all times depend upon the said
parish church as regarded "omnia spiritualia."[1]   Sir
Eustace de Vesci, in 1207, received a like privilege on
similar conditions.[2]   Roland of Grenelaw was also allowed
a private chapel, on condition that no loss should accrue
thereby to St Mary of Kelso or to the parish church of
Grenelaw, which, like Sprouston, was held by the abbey.[3]
The singular privileges enjoyed by Kelso added to this
prestige.   The monks received from Pope Lucius III. the
right of exemption from any sentence of excommunication
or suspension passed against them by any other power
than the Apostolic See.[4]   Innocent III. granted leave for
the offices to be celebrated in the church during an inter-
dict, provided no bells were rung, the doors kept closed,
and all conducted *suppressa voce*.[5]   The abbot had the
privilege of inviting any bishop of Scotland to ordain or
administer any sacraments in the church ; while the abbey
from its foundation enjoyed perpetual exemption from all

[1] *Reg.*, p. 175.   [2] *Ibid.*, p. 172.   [3] *Ibid.*, p. 113.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 359.   [5] *Ibid.*, p. 352.

episcopal subjection, by the special grant of Robert, Bishop of St Andrews to King David.[1]

Kelso played an important part in the history of the country. Situated, as it was, so near the Border, it often suffered, together with its neighbours, the miseries caused in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries by war and pillage. John, Bishop of Glasgow, in the preamble to the grant of a benefice to be bestowed upon the abbey, thus laments its unhappy state at the time:

> The Benedictine monastery of St Mary of Calchow, which used to show a liberal hospitality to all who crowded thither, and lent a helping hand to the poor and needy, being situated on the confines of the kingdoms, through the hostile incursions and long-continued war of the countries, is now impoverished, spoiled of its goods, and in a sort desolate.[2]

Another prelate, William of Lamberton, Bishop of St Andrews, speaks even more feelingly in a similar document:

> Seeing that the monastery of St Mary of Kelcho, on the borders of England and Scotland, is through the common war and the long degradation and spoiling of goods by fire and rapine, destroyed, and, we speak it with grief, its monks and *conversi* wander over Scotland, begging food and clothing at the other religious houses—in which most famous monastery divine service used to be celebrated with multitude of persons, and adorned with innumerable works of charity : while it sustained the burdens and inconvenience of crowds flocking thither of both kingdoms, and showed hospitality to all in want—whose state we greatly compassionate, etc.[3]

It was on account of these disasters that David II. granted permission to the abbey in 1344 to cut down wood in the forests of Selkirk and Jedburgh to repair the

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[1] *Reg.*, p. 5. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 366.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 249. The translation of both passages is that of the editor, Cosmo Innes, *pref.*, p. xlii.

damages caused by the English when they burned the abbey.[1]

Many important events are connected with Kelso. Prince Henry, son of its founder, was buried in the minster in 1152. In 1255 Henry III. of England, who had come to meet his son-in-law, Alexander III., at Roxburgh, was entertained at a sumptuous banquet in the abbey. The abbot and convent paid homage to Edward I. at Berwick in 1296, and received from that monarch a writ of restitution of all lands and goods belonging to them which had been seized by the invaders. It is interesting to note that Roger de Auldton, whose chantry at Roxburgh has already been mentioned, afterwards associated the name of the English king to those of his family : "pro salute anime excellentissimi principis domini mei, Domini Edwardi, Dei gratia regis Anglie et Francie," and that Edward I. confirmed the charter in 1300.[2] Truces were entered into at Kelso between the Scottish and English kings in 1380 and 1391. On the death of James II., by the bursting of a cannon at Roxburgh in 1460, his infant son, then in camp together with the Queen, was carried by the nobles to the abbey, and in presence of the army crowned and proclaimed King as James III. In 1487 commissioners met at Kelso to prolong a truce which "preserved peace in the Border territory"; at the same time the preliminaries of a marriage were arranged between the eldest son of James III. and the daughter of Edward IV. This, like many other Scottish monasteries, suffered from the lamentable practice of the appointment of commendatory abbots. The first was Andrew Stewart, Bishop of Caithness, who, together with those of Fearn, enjoyed the revenues of Kelso till

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1 *Reg.*, pref., p. xiv.
2 *Ibid.*, pp. 389-397.

his death in 1517. An illegitimate son of James. V. held the same office for at least seventeen years.

Troubled days were in store for Kelso. In 1522 came the invasion of Scotland by Henry VIII., and in the following year Queen Margaret wrote to her brother to beg of him to spare the town and abbey. "The abat of Kelsoo," says the Queen, "hath prayed me to vryt to you to be hys good lord, and that for my sake ze wol not let na ewel to be don to that place, the whiche I wyl pray you to do."[1] The appeal was in vain. On June 30 Dacre demolished and burned the Abbot's House with the adjacent buildings and dormitory of the monks. He destroyed the Lady Chapel with its beautiful stalls of carved wood, and stripped off the lead from roofs. The monks were driven to take refuge in a village near, where they celebrated the sacred rites in the greatest poverty. In 1542 Norfolk again burned the abbey, which seems to have undergone some sort of repair during the twenty years that had elapsed since Dacre's attack upon it. When, in 1545, the Earl of Hertford once more attempted the destruction of the ill-fated monastery, he found "about an hundred persons, Scottishemen (whereof twelve of them were monkes), perswaded with their own follye and wilfulnes to kepe yt." The brave defenders were, however, driven to the tower, from which "a dosen of the Scottes, in the darke of the night, escaped out of the house by ropes, out at back wyndowes and corners, with no lytell danger of their lyves."[2] Next day the place was taken and the survivors put to death. In spite of this disaster, the following year found the monks again in possession ; it was reported by the English emissaries that sixteen men "had beilditt them a strength

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[1] *Teviotdale*, p. 97.
[2] *State Papers, Henry VIII.*, Part IV., p. 513.

in the old walls of the steple,"[1] which seems to have been partly ruined by the attack of the Earl of Hertford. Within the next fifteen years the monks strove to resume their accustomed way of life ; but in 1560 such buildings as remained were totally wrecked by the mob of "reformers."   Further destruction was brought about by a bigoted mob in 1580.   Soon after, a place of worship for Protestants, with a gaol above, was constructed by throwing a low, gloomy vault over part of the transept ; the ruins were probably further defaced to provide materials for this erection.   In 1771 a fragment of cement fell from the roof during service, and this fact calling to mind a prophecy of Thomas the Rhymer[2] that the kirk should fall when fullest, created a panic among the worshippers, and they never dared to assemble there again.   During the years 1805-16 the ruins were put in order by the Dukes of Roxburgh, and have since been zealously cared for.   The entire length of the church in its present ruined state is about 100 feet only.

The lands were erected into the earldom of Kelso, in 1605, in favour of Sir Robert Kerr, of Cessford, a descendant of the last commendator.   The revenues at the Reformation were computed at about £10,000 of present money value.

ARBROATH ABBEY

Kelso had a rival, as to power as well as beauty, in the fairest of her daughters, the magnificent abbey of Arbroath.   It was in 1178 that King William the Lion obtained a colony of monks from Kelso, and established

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[1] *Teviotdale*, p. 103.

[2] Thomas of Erceldoune was a thirteenth-century poet and seer much thought of in Scotland.

them near the sea-shore at Aberbrothoc or Arbroath in
Angus. The place-name was derived from the Burn of
Brothoc, near the mouth of which the monastery was
built. This abbey was dedicated to St Thomas the
Martyr, and is among the earliest—if not the very first—
of the churches which bore the name of the great Arch-
bishop of Canterbury whose martyrdom had occurred
only eight years, and his canonisation five years, before
the foundation was made. William had been intimately
connected with St Thomas in earlier times, and had a
special devotion to him; but, besides these personal
motives, he was doubtless influenced by the popular
enthusiasm for a saint of kindred race, whose *cultus* was
rapidly spreading through the Church.

The glorious minster which rose through the bounty of
the pious king on the heights of Arbroath, overlooking
the German Ocean, almost equalled Dunfermline in size
and surpassed it in grace of design. In its finished state,
before Reformation troubles arose, it exhibited every
style of architecture that had been prevalent since its
commencement; in the main, however, it was of First
Pointed, or what is frequently called Early English, style.
It was built of bright red sandstone, and consisted of a
nave, with aisles, measuring 148 feet in length, transepts
extending 132 feet, and a choir with aisles measuring 76
feet. The width of the nave was 35 feet, and that of
the aisles 16 feet, while the wooden roof rose 83 feet
from the pavement of glazed tiles. There were two
western towers and a central steeple.

The scanty remains of this once stately church give but
a faint idea of its appearance when in its perfect state.
It was entered from the west by a noble Norman arch-
way, whose clustered columns supported the richly carved
mouldings of the rounded arch. Over it was a fine wheel

window of unusual size, and similar windows adorned the
gables of the transepts. The other windows were appar-
ently Pointed in style. The walls of the transepts were
decorated with arcading, and a second series of arches,
resting on slender columns and forming a passage similar
to the triforium, ran above the lower series. Over the
arches of the nave—whose bays, whether by design or
accident, corresponded in number with those of the Can-
terbury Minster—ran a triforium of tall pointed arches.
A fine interior gallery of stone, opening into the church
by pointed arches resting on slender octagonal columns,
ran over the grand western entrance. Carving and
decoration, here as at Kelso, formed a prominent feature
throughout the building.

The monastery stood on the south side of the church,
as in most of the Benedictine houses. On the east side
of the cloister-garth, which measured some 100 feet by
90, stood the splendid chapter-house—a vaulted building
60 feet long, its groined roof resting on four pillars, which
divided it into two aisles. On the south was the great
refectory, and towards the west the abbot's house, which
is still habitable as a dwelling-house. A stone wall en-
closed the precincts of the abbey; it varied from 20 feet
to 24 feet in height, and was over 2000 feet long.

The church had several altars. The High Altar was
dedicated to St Thomas, the titular patron. Before it
the founder was buried in 1214. Robert Bruce endowed
the abbey with four marks annually, " ad sustentandum
luminare circa tumbam bone memorie domini Willelmi
Regis Scocie." [1] The altar of St Catherine in the south
transept was largely endowed by Margaret Stewart,
Countess of Angus; the burial-place of her family was

[1] " To provide a lamp at the tomb of the Lord King, William of
Scotland, of worthy memory." *Reg. Vetus.*, p. 297.

close by, and the Countess provided a daily Mass, *in per-petuum*, for the soul of her husband, Earl John, and for herself and family.[1] The altar of St Peter was endowed with an annual revenue for its repair by Abbot Malcolm in 1465. That of St Nicholas received a yearly rental from "St Nicholas's Lands"[2] near the town of Arbroath, to provide wax lights and other necessaries. The three altars last mentioned, together with that of St Lawrence, were consecrated by the Bishop of Dromore, August 26, 1485.[3] There was also an altar of St James. In addition to the Lady Chapel with its altar, there was another St Mary's altar near the door of the sacristy, which was endowed with a provision for candles. Beside these altars in the church, an Almonry Chapel, dedicated to St Michael, stood in "Almarie Close" near the monastery precincts.

King William endowed his monastery with great liber-ality, bestowing upon it the patronage and tithes of many churches in the counties of Forfar, Kincardine, Aberdeen, Banff and Inverness, as well as extensive lands, fishing, and salt-works. Part of the territory of the monks came from the custody of the "Brecbennach" or sacred *vexillum* of St Columba which had been entrusted to the abbot by the king.[4] Many nobles followed their king's example, and Arbroath rapidly grew in wealth and im-portance. The abbot held his lands "in free regality," having sovereign power over his people with regard to the administration of justice, which no civil authority could

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[1] *Reg. Nig.*, p. 18.   [2] *Ibid.*, p. 507.   [3] *Ibid.*, p. 227.

[4] Though often styled the *banner* of St Columba, the Brecbennach was more probably a reliquary containing some relics of the saint. It has been suggested that the "Monymusk Reliquary," still preserved in the family of that name, is the identical casket in question. The hereditary custody of the Brecbennach was in fact granted by the Abbot of Arbroath to Malcolm de Monimusk in the year 1315. *Vide* Anderson, *Scotland in Early Christian Times*, vol. i. pp. 247 *seq.*

dispute. More than once in the history of Arbroath were his subjects rescued from the King's officials, when accused of some crime, and transferred to the abbot's own court. The great families of the district thought it no degradation to hold their lands as vassals of the abbey, and to give their services to their superiors, as vassals were required to do.

Many times during the course of their history did the buildings at Arbroath suffer severely from casualties of various kinds. In 1272 they were struck by lightning, and so terrible was the fire kindled by the flash that the very bells are said to have been melted.[1] That year was disastrous in other ways. The land was barren, the sea unproductive; there was sickness among men, and mortality among cattle.[2] In 1380 the monastery was again burnt. The Bishop of St Andrews on that occasion gave leave to the abbot to distribute the monks among other religious houses until Arbroath had been repaired. From the wording of the contract made with William of Tweeddale, the plumber, for " theking the mekil quer with lede," [3] it would appear that the fire had but consumed the woodwork of the choir roof on this occasion. In 1445 a fray between the Lyndsays and the Ogilvies caused considerable damage to the abbey; some historians say that it was even burned down again. The leaders, Lord Crawfurd and the Earl of Huntly, each claimed the dignity of Bailie of the Regality, and hence the deadly feud between them. As a result of the injuries done on this occasion we find that a new dormitory, ceiled with timber from Norway, was being constructed in 1470.

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[1] *Boece* (1st ed.), fol. 302.   [2] Fordun, *Scotichronicon*, x., xxx.

[3] *Reg. Nig.*, p. 42. William for his work was to have twenty-five marks and a gown with a hood, and on every working day a penny for his *noynsankis* (luncheon), together with certain perquisites.

The capabilities of the abbey for entertaining guests may be estimated from the fact, that it could accommodate a retinue of 200 horsemen and servants, and that kings with their attendants were often lodged within its walls. Edward I. of England was there in 1296 and again in 1303. Robert Bruce frequently stayed there, and in 1320 assembled a Parliament within the precincts. In 1489 it is recorded that, amongst other guests, the "Kingis Henes" was there "twys, the archebischop thris."[1] The "King's Highness" alluded to was James IV. Such an influx of visitors was sometimes undesirable. One of the abbots complained in 1470 of the Bishop of St Andrews, that he did not come with a moderate train, but sometimes with as many as 100 or even 200 knights —"non pastoraliter oves visitando."[2]

Many of the abbots were distinguished men. Reginald, the first in order, had been a monk of Kelso; he was deputed by William the Lion to accompany the Bishop of St Andrews to Rome, and make obeisance on the king's behalf to Alexander III.; the abbot brought back to the king the Golden Rose. Abbot Ralph de Lamley became Bishop of Aberdeen in 1239. He "travelled through all his Diocese on foot, preaching and visiting the Churches, that he might know their true estate; and he is said never to have changed his form of living that he used in the Cloister."[3] Abbot Henry, in 1296, when no one else dared to accept the charge, had the courage to carry to Edward I. the renunciation of allegiance which the Scottish Parliament had forced Baliol to sign. Abbot Bernard de Linton was made chancellor of the kingdom by King Robert Bruce. In 1328 he was consecrated Bishop of the Isles. He wrote a Latin poem on the

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[1] *Reg. Nig.*, p. 263.

[2] "Not visiting his flock like a shepherd." *Ibid.*, p. 146.

[3] Spottiswood, *History of Church of Scotland*, vol. i. p. 201.

Battle of Bannockburn. Abbot Gedy built the harbour of Arbroath in 1394. He was the first mitred abbot of the house. The most illustrious of the commendatory abbots of this monastery was the great cardinal, David Beaton, who held the office from 1524 to his death in 1546.[1] This renowned prelate, unlike many of the titular religious superiors of the day, took a lively interest in the internal affairs of the house and the welfare of its inmates, as its Register bears witness.

It was the connection of the cardinal with Arbroath that roused the animosity of the English against that abbey in 1544; for he was the only formidable opponent of the Anglicising party. In April of that year Henry VIII. was informed that the traitor Wishart, who afterwards perished at the stake for his heretical opinions, would undertake, with the help of English forces, to destroy " the Abbey and Town of Arbroath, being the Cardinal's and all the other Bishops' and Abbots' houses, and countries on that side the water thereabouts." Order was given by Henry " effectually to burn and destroy." [2] How much destruction was wrought at that time is not clear. The abbey was not altogether demolished, but

" what England did not effect," says a non-Catholic writer, " the hands of a Scottish mob did, quenching the lamp which Bruce endowed above the founder's tomb ; and quickened by the Congregation, burning the Abbey with so fierce a flame, that the molten lead ran down the streets in a red fiery stream." [3]

Very little remains now of this once magnificent abbey.

[1] Cosmo Innes, in his preface to the *Reg. Nig.*, is of another opinion. He thinks that the cardinal did not hold it to the end. Knox, however, in his account of Wishart's trial (1546), quotes the words of Lauder : " Is not my Lord Cardinall the secund persone within this Realme, Chancellar of Scotland . . . Commendatour of Abirbrothock ? " (*Hist. Reformation*, bk. i.).

[2] *Reg. Nig.*, pref., p. xxii.   [3] *Ancient Church of Scotland*, p. 252.

Portions of the nave and choir—the east and west ends—
and also the south transept are still to be seen. The
sacristy is the most complete portion; it still retains its
groined roof and its beautiful arcading round the interior.
It was built by Abbot Panter in the latter part of the
fifteenth century. Even in its ruined state this religious
house called forth the admiration of Dr Johnson.
"I should scarcely have regretted my journey," he
says, "had it afforded nothing more than the sight of
Aberbrothick." [1]

Kilwinning Abbey

Arbroath, although the most important, was not the
first foundation made by Kelso. The general opinion of
writers on the subject places the Abbey of Kilwinning
in the position of the eldest of Kelso's children. The
founder of this monastery belonged to the family of
De Morville, but the exact person cannot be ascertained
without the help of more records than we now possess.
Pont, a writer of the seventeenth century, says that
Richard de Morville, the actual assassin of St Thomas,
was the founder. This is not generally accepted, as Pope
Alexander III. imposed on the murderers a penance to go
to the Holy Land; so that De Morville could not have
come to Scotland. Pont, moreover, places the foundation
in 1191. There was another Richard, son of the founder
of Dryburgh; Pont may have confused the two.

The name Kilwinning signifies "church" or "cell of
Wynnin." This Wynnin was an Irish saint, who, accord-
ing to Dr Reeves, is also known by the titles of St Finnan
of Moville and St Frigidian of Lucca; [2] he was one of
the early apostles of the district of Cunningham, in Ayr-

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1 *Johnson's Works*, vol. ix. p. 9.
2 Forbes, *Kalendars of Scott. Saints*, p. 465.

shire, where Kilwinning is situated. The foundation
seems to have been made in 1140.[1]

Very few details of the history of this abbey have
come down to us. For a long period it was thought that
the ancient chartulary had been destroyed at the Reforma-
tion; now, however, it is generally believed that it is
still in existence somewhere—probably among the papers
of the Eglinton family—as Pont, early in the seventeenth
century, quotes from the Latin charters; and Father
Innes, a century after, actually saw the Register; and
both writers speak of it as in possession of the Earl of
Eglinton.[2] Frequent search has hitherto failed to bring
this treasure to light; it is to be hoped that some day it
may reappear. The sources of information left to one
who desires to study the history of Kilwinning are, there-
fore, limited to a few scattered charters once existing
in other registers, and now collected by the Ayrshire
Archæological Society, and such knowledge as the remains
of the ancient buildings afford.

The church was cruciform, and measured about 225
feet long and 65 feet across, including the aisles. The
transepts were 98 feet in length, and had eastern chapels.
The chancel, or choir, 30 feet broad, had no aisles.
There were two western towers, a pretty common charac-
teristic of large churches in Scotland. There was, how-
ever, a feature about those at Kilwinning which was
unusual. They were not independent structures, as at
Dunfermline or Arbroath, where they were pierced by
doorways at the most; but at Kilwinning they opened on
to the aisles by means of large arches, so that the space
under the towers and between them must have formed a
narthex about 80 feet in extent at the western extremity

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[1] *Caledonia*, vol. vi. p. 548.
[2] Innes, *Sketches of Early Scotch History*, p. 22 (note).

of the nave. The broad foundations of the pillars of the transepts give evidence of the existence of a central tower also.

The church seems to have been built entirely on one plan, in the First Pointed style, and was not of slow growth, as so many others were. This is proved by the unity of design conspicuous in the various portions. It seems, however, to have been considerably damaged at one time—probably during the Wars of Independence— as the west front was reconstructed about the fourteenth century in a style inferior to the rest of the work. Some of the arches, doorways, and windows which still remain are remarkable for their graceful proportions, and, in some cases, pleasing decorative details. The doorway leading into the cloister from the south transept is especially remarkable. The gable of this transept, pierced with three slender lancet windows, is also very beautiful. In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries this church must have been one of the noblest structures in the West of Scotland—a rival of Paisley or even of Glasgow Cathedral.

The annual income of Kilwinning seems to have been considerable. It held no less than sixteen parish churches, and its extensive possessions placed it in the rank of the most opulent Benedictine monasteries. The revenues of the perpetual vicarage of Daly, which was in the gift of the abbey, were granted in 1542 for the erection of a collegiate church dedicated to St Mary and St Anne, in St Tenew's Street, Glasgow.[1] The appointment of its Provost belonged to the Abbot of Kilwinning. At the dissolution, the Earl of Eglinton obtained possession of the temporalities of this abbey.

[1] St Tenew, or Thenog, was the mother of St Kentigern. Her name still survives in the square and railway terminus known as St Enoch's.

When, as Knox says, " the lords of secreit counsaill maid ane act, that all places and monumentis of idolatry [1] sould be destroyed," [2] the Earls of Arran, Argyle and Glencairn cast down Kilwinning.   So completely did they accomplish their work that now, when three centuries of decay have continued the process of devastation, very little remains of the once beautiful abbey.   The great western entrance, with the mullioned windows above it, may still be seen, and also a portion of the south wall. The doorway and windows of the chapter-house and the entrance to the refectory also survive.   The most conspicuous portion of the ruins is the great gable of the transept, which is visible from the railway connecting Glasgow and Ayr.   Pont, in his *Topographical Account*,[3] mentions a " faire stone wall " which in his time surrounded the precincts.   All that now survive at this time are portions indicated by the names " Abbey

[1] The charge of idolatry, constantly levelled at the Catholic Church by the Reformers, seems to call for a few words of refutation.   Knox took delight in denouncing what he styled " the idol of the Mass."   The best answer to the charge is that given by Dr Johnson to Boswell.

" *Boswell.* What do you think of the idolatry of the Mass ?

" *Johnson.* Sir, there is no idolatry.   They believe God to be there, and adore Him."   (Boswell, *Life of Johnson*, vol. i. p. 561.)

With regard to a like calumny, provoked by the honour shown to sacred images, it has been answered by a Protestant.   Leibnitz says : " Though we speak of the honour paid to images, yet this is only a manner of speaking, which really means that we honour not the senseless thing which is incapable of understanding such honour, but the prototype, which receives honour through its representation. . . . Given, then, that there is no other veneration of images than that which means veneration of their prototype, there is surely no more idolatry in it than there is in the respect shown in the utterance of the most holy names of God and Christ ; for, after all, names are but signs or symbols."   (*Systema Theologicum*, p. 142.)

[2] *Hist. of Reformation* (ed. 1846), p. 274.

[3] *Topographical Account of the District of Cunningham, Ayrshire*, p. 107.

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Gate," "Alms Wall," &c. The latter was doubtless the
site of the almonry, an important feature in all the old
monasteries of Scotland. One of the western towers of
the church, 103 feet high, fell with a crash in 1814.
Upon its summit was formerly fixed on a high pole the
wooden figure of a bird known as the *papingo*.[1] By some
of the old Acts of Parliament of Scotland it was decreed
that the young men of every parish should practise
archery for an hour or two on Sundays after divine service.
Although this fell into disuse in other places, it continued
at Kilwinning from the fifteenth up to the eighteenth
century. The archer who could hit the *papingo* at the
annual meeting held during the month of June bore for
the rest of the year the title of " Captain of the Papingo,"
and was entitled to wear a scarf of parti-coloured silk.
Scott refers to the practice in *Old Mortality*.

[1] Papingo, or popinjay—a parrot, or bird of gay plumage.—*Jamieson's
Scott. Dict.*

ABBEYS OF LINDORES AND IONA: LESMAHAGOW AND
FYVIE PRIORIES

THE fourth abbey of this group was at Lindores, in
Fifeshire.   Its name—variously written as Lindores,
Londores, or Lundors—probably signifies "a retreat
beside the waters."   It was situated on a gentle slope
above the Tay, about a quarter of a mile from the present
town of Newburgh.   Its founder was David, Earl of
Huntingdon, grandson of William the Lion.   The story
of a vow made in danger of shipwreck and fulfilled by this
foundation is discredited by modern writers, as no mention
is made of such a fact in the charter.   The abbey was
dedicated to St Mary the Virgin and St Andrew.   It was
founded between 1178 and 1190, and peopled by monks
from Kelso.   Guy, the first abbot, during a long rule of
nearly twenty-eight years, built the greater part of the
church and monastery.   He left behind him twenty-six
monks.

The church when first finished stood upon the unusual
ground-plan of a Greek cross, each arm measuring some 40
feet in length and 22 in width.   It is thought that the
founder was influenced by some church he had seen in
the East when engaged in the Crusades.   The transepts
had each an eastern aisle of three bays and the nave a north
aisle only.   At a later date the nave with its aisle was

lengthened until the entire church measured 230 feet—
rather longer than Bath Abbey. It was of First Pointed
style, and from its scanty remains appears to have been
of great beauty. Besides a central tower, there was also
one at the north-west end of the nave. The church
possessed four bells; the "Mary Bell," of silver, was the
gift of the founder; the others were named Michael,
Gabriel and Raphael respectively. The monastic build-
ings on the south of the church stood round a cloister-
garth, 100 feet square.

There are records of altars in the church dedicated to
St Mary, St Michael, St John and St Denis, and there
were at least four or five others. David II. endowed that
of St Michael "for the welfare of our soul and for the
souls of our ancestors and successors, Kings of Scotland
. . . on condition that the monks celebrate one Mass on
any day they choose" at the altar in question.[1] Many
grants of a similar kind were made at various times. Sir
David de Lindsay, Lord of Crawford, in 1355 disposes
thus: "For the welfare of my own soul and that of the
deceased Lady Marie, my wife, and the souls of my
ancestors, &c., I give to the abbot and convent of Londors,
six stones of wax for maintaining a burning candle in the
choir of the foresaid church at our sepulchre daily at Mass,
for my lady." [2] Sir David eventually entered the cloister.

The royal founder liberally endowed his abbey; at the
dissolution Lindores possessed the revenues of twenty-two
parish churches, and its landed property, the result of
continued benefactions throughout its history, had become
considerable. In addition to actual possessions the abbey
revenue was augmented from various sources. The founder
granted to the monks the right *in perpetuum* of taking red
sandstone for building from his quarry at Hyrneside; all

[1] Laing, *Lindores*, p. 477.   [2] *Ibid.*

the materials for their church and monastery, except the grey stone employed for pillars and ornamental portions, came from this source.   Again, Roger de Quincy, Earl of Wynton, granted to the abbey 200 cartloads of brushwood annually from his moor of Kinloch, and the exclusive use of a peat-moss for fuel.   It is interesting to note that this peat-bog, originally known as "The Monks' Moss," was called by the latter "Our Lady's Bog."   This became shortened to Ladybog, and eventually became Ladybank when a railway station arose on the spot.

The extensive buildings at Lindores could afford hospitality to numerous guests, and more than once kings with their retinues were entertained therein.   Thus, in 1265, Alexander III. was at the abbey; in 1291 Edward I. received the abbot's oath of fealty before the High Altar; in 1365, David II. was a guest, having spent the previous Christmas festival with the monks.   Some idea may be gained of the accommodation required by such royal visitors by the fact that David had with him forty mounted attendants and his Queen sixty.   Among other distinguished personages were Baliol, who was at the abbey in 1294, and Bruce, who visited it four years later.   The chief supporters of the latter, Sir Gilbert Haye of Errol, Sir Neill Campbell of Lochaw, and Sir Alexander Setton, made their contract together in the abbey church, and "solemnly took the Sacrament at St Mary's Altar," [1] in confirmation thereof.   James, ninth Earl of Douglas, ended his life there in enforced retirement, in consequence of his share in the rebellion against James III.   He was buried in the minster in 1488.   Another notable tomb was that of David, Duke of Rothsay, eldest son of Robert III., who for his reputed evil life was imprisoned in Falkland Castle by his uncle, the Duke of Albany, and

[1] Laing, *Lindores*, p. 92.

is believed to have been starved to death by the brutal
malice of his keepers in 1402.

 A privilege granted to this abbey by Pope Nicholas III.
in 1279 gives a glimpse of the daily life of the monks.

> It having been represented to us, that from a custom long observed in
> the monastery, some of you on the solemn festivals while the Divine
> Mysteries are being celebrated, are held standing, clothed in albs and copes
> of silk, bareheaded, and as the climate of Scotland is frigid, the cold has
> seized some of the monks, who have thereby contracted long-continued
> illness.   Wherefore . . . we grant indulgence by these presents, that as
> often as you are vested for certain festivals and processions, you may use
> caps . . . provided that in reading the Gospels, and in the Elevation of
> the Host, and in all other services, due reverence be observed.[1]

In the beginning of the Reformation troubles Lindores
was among the first religious houses to suffer from the
violence of the mob.   In 1543 the monastery was attacked
and the monks driven out, but they were able to return.
In 1559, however, during an eight days' truce granted
to the Protestant party, Knox and his followers un-
scrupulously destroyed the buildings.   The reformer thus
describes the event in a letter to a friend:

> In the whilk the Abbay of Lindores, a place of black monks, distant
> from St Andrewis twelve myles we reformed, their altars overthrew we,
> their idols, vestments of idolatrie, and mass books we burnt in their
> presence, and commanded them to cast away their monkish habits.[2]

After this second attack the abbey remained desolate,
exposed to the ravages of time and to the irreverent
pillage of its stones by any farmer who chose to cart them
off for repairing his buildings.   In consequence of this
wanton destruction Lindores was until recent years little
better than a heap of shapeless ruins; these have, how-
ever, been sufficiently cleared from accumulated rubbish

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[1] *Chartulary of Lindores*, Abbotsford Club, No. 22.
[2] M'Crie, *Life of Knox*, vol. ii. p. 383 (Append.).

to give some idea of the ground-plan and lower portions
of the walls.[1]   The revenues were granted at the Re-
formation to Sir Patrick Leslie, who received the title of
Lord Lindores.

IONA ABBEY

With regard to another important house of Black
Monks existing in Scotland before the Reformation—that
of Iona—there has been some discussion.   Spottiswood
in his *Religious Houses*, says: "The old cloisters being
ruined by the several incursions of the Danes, the monas-
tery became, in the following years, the dwelling of the
Cluniacenses." [2]   This opinion was generally received
until it was called in question by Dr W. F. Skene, His-
toriographer-Royal.   In a paper read before the Society
of Antiquaries of Scotland in 1873,[3] the learned historian
stated his belief that the monastery in question belonged
rather to the Benedictines of Tiron.   Quoting from the
Book of Clanranald, he showed that Reginald, Lord of the
Isles (1166-1207) founded "a monastery of Black Monks
in I (or Iona), in honour of God and Columchille." [4]   From
the absence of all mention of the Order of Cluny in the
confirmation by Pope Innocent III. (December 9th, 1203),
of the aforesaid monastery, and from a comparison of that
document with other Cluniac foundation charters, he
argued that it could not have belonged to that body.   On
the other hand, the Tironensian foundations, he affirmed,

[1] Mr G. S. Aitken, F.S.A. Scot., has worked out the ground-plan very
ingeniously in his *Abbeys of Arbroath, Balmerino, and Lindores*.

[2] *An Account of all the Religious Houses that were in Scotland at the
Time of the Reformation*, chap. viii.

[3] *Vide Proceedings of Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, vol. x. p.
202 *seq*.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 204.

are always styled monasteries of " Black Monks." The donation of the " Brecbennach," or *vexillum* of St Columba, to the Abbey of Arbroath, by William the Lion,[1] strengthens this view; especially since that king at the foundation of the new monastery in Iona had granted to the Abbey of Holyrood certain churches in Galloway, which had formerly been attached to the original Columban monastery;[2] by the gift of the *vexillum* he would therefore seem to have wished to make some compensation to the monks of the Tiron observance. It is a striking fact that in a description of English and Scottish Cluniac foundations, which appears to have been compiled from Visitation Reports of the years 1298, 1390, and 1405,[3] Paisley and Crossraguel are the only Scottish houses mentioned, nor does the name of Iona occur in any part of the work which contains the description in question.

The church and monastery built for the Benedictines of Iona were commenced in the thirteenth century. The stone employed in the minster was red granite, brought from the adjacent island of Mull, where it is most abundant. The way in which the hard material has been worked has excited universal admiration. The windows, doors, cornices, arches, pillars, and ornamental parts were of freestone—also brought from Mull. The length of the church was about 148 feet; the choir measured 62 feet, and the nave about the same. There was a central tower and transept to complete the usual cruciform plan.

[1] *Vide* chap. iii., Arbroath Abbey.

[2] Spottiswood speaks of these possessions as taken by the king from the Cluniacs; but Dr Skene shows that the particular churches do not occur in the foundation charter of 1203, and must therefore have belonged to the old foundation.

[3] *Vide Visitations of English Cluniac Foundations*, by Sir G. F. Duckett, Bart., p. 37.

The small nave may be accounted for by the monastic nature of the church, which was not intended to accommodate a large body of the laity.

A special feature of the building must have been its skilfully wrought carving. Many of the capitals of the pillars were elaborately decorated with foliage, grotesque monsters, and groups of figures. On the western pier of the north transept the sculptor seems to have intended to pourtray the history of the fall of man. On the southern side of the choir the three *sedilia* were richly decorated with carved heads and foliage. The sculpture of the church generally is still in a state of good preservation.[1]

The founder of the monastery, Reginald, Lord of the Isles, died in 1207, and was buried at Iona. Many of his descendants and successors have since found a tomb there. Of John, Lord of the Isles, the *Book of Clanranald* relates, "He died in his own castle at Ardtornish, while monks and priests were over his body, and having received the Body of Christ and Extreme Unction, his fair body was brought to Icolmkill, and the abbot and the monks and vicars came along with him, as it was customary to accompany the bodies of the Kings of Fingall . . . and he was laid in the same grave with his father at Teampull Odhran, or the church of St Oran, in the year 1380."[2] Of Donald, his son and successor, it is said: "he gave lands in Mull and Isla to the monastery of Iona, and every immunity which the monastery had from his ancestors before him; and he made a covering of gold and silver for the relic of the hand of St Columcille, and he himself took the brotherhood of the order."[3]

The Western Isles, known as the Sudreys, were annexed to the Norwegian Diocese of Trontheim, when,

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[1] *Vide* Buckler's *The Architecture of the Abbey Church of Iona.*
[2] *Proc. Soc. of Antiq.*, vol. x. p. 214.   [3] *Ibid.*

in 1154, it was made a metropolitan See by Pope Anastasius IV. The Bishop of Man and the Isles was at that time a Norwegian, Ragnald, and he is styled in the Icelandic Annals first Bishop of the Sudreys. The Anglican title " Bishop of Sodor and Man," is derived from this appellation. The islands lying below Ardnamurchan Point were called Sudreys to distinguish them from the Nordreys—the more northerly islands.

Iona thus fell under Norwegian ecclesiastical supervision. A letter of Pope Innocent IV., of the year 1247, preserved in the British Museum, states that " The abbot of the monastery of the Order of St Benedict, in the diocese of the Isles of the Kingdom of Norway," had complained that the Scottish abbots compelled him to attend their general council, although a general chapter, according to the constitution of the Apostolic See, was held within his province (of Trontheim). He was accordingly declared by the Pope to be released from the obligation which the Scottish abbots sought to impose upon him.[1] In the same year the abbot met the Pope at Lyons, and received from him the privilege of *pontificalia*.

When the Western Isles were separated from Norway, and the See of the Isles became Scottish, Iona recognised the Bishop of Dunkeld as inheriting the rights of St Columba. In the reign of Robert Bruce, Finlay, a monk of Iona, who had been elected abbot, sought the confirmation of William St Clair, Bishop of Dunkeld.[2] In 1431, also, the Abbot of Iona, " did obeisance (*fecit obedientiam manualem*) to Robert of Cardeny, Bishop of Dunkeld, his ordinary." [3]

The Isle of Man was seized by the English in 1334, and a bishop was appointed in 1380, subject to the English

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[1] *Origines Parochiales Scotiæ*, Bannatyne Club, Pt. II., p. 834.
[2] *Proc. Soc. Antiq., loc. cit.*   [3] *Orig. Paroch. Scot.*, Pt. II., p. 291.

metropolitan; the Cathedral of St German was thus lost to the See of the Isles. It is not certain if Iona became from that time the residence of the Scottish bishop, but in 1498 a petition was made to the Pope " for the erection of the abbacy of Colmkiln in the bischoppis sete of the Ilis," [1] and from a letter under the Privy Seal of James IV., in 1506, it is clear that the request had been granted.[2]

Iona did not long enjoy its new dignity. Scarcely more than fifty years later came the downfall of the Scottish Church. A decree of the Synod of Argyll, concurring in the recent legislation of Parliament as to the suppression of "monuments of idolatrie," had the effect of inducing a mob of "reformers" in 1561 to invade the island and destroy everything that could be destroyed. It is said that out of 360 sculptured crosses standing there, only three were left. Some were thrown into the sea, others carried away to serve as gravestones in the adjacent islands, where their remains may still be seen.

With the monastery perished its ancient records and its valuable library. Some of its priceless treasures are said to have been carried away by its owners before the attack upon the monastery, and deposited in the Castle of Cairnburgh, on the neighbouring island of Cairnburgmore; but as the Castle was burnt by Cromwell in a later age, they too have been lost. Among the contents of this library were thought to have been the lost books of Livy; Æneas Sylvius, afterwards Pope Pius II., was intending to visit Iona in search of them, when he was in Scotland, but the death of James I. prevented him. Gibbon, it may be remarked, in his *Decline and Fall*, speaks of Iona Abbey as renowned for its classic library, and states it as probable that it possessed an entire Livy.[3]

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[1] *Orig. Paroch. Scot.*, Pt. II., p. 292.   [2] *Ibid*,. p. 293.
[3] *Decline and Fall*, vol. vi. p. 246 (note).

A gold chalice of great antiquity, which formed part of the monastic treasures, became the property of Sir Lachlan M'Lean, and afterwards passed into the family of M'Donell, of Glengarry. It was eventually presented to Bishop Ranald M'Donald, and on his death passed to his successor, Bishop Scott, who was accustomed to use it for Mass at St Mary's Catholic Chapel, Abercromby Street, Glasgow. In 1845, the sacristy of that church was unfortunately broken into, and the chalice stolen and melted down; the burglars are said to have been Catholics.[1]

The bells, according to a tradition of the islanders, were carried to Glasgow to be broken up for old metal, or, as others affirm, they were lost in the sea in transit thither.[2] From a letter of King Charles I. to the Bishop of Raphoe, it would, however, appear that one of the prelates of Iona had a share in this portion of the spoils. The letter ran thus:

" Whereas we ar informed that Andro, late Bischop of Rapho at his transportatioun from the Bischoprick of Yles did, without just caus or aney warrant frome our late royall father or us, carie with him two of the principal bells that were in Icolmkill, and place them in some of the churches of Rapho. . . . Therefor, and in regard that we have gevin ordour to the present Bischop of Yles for repairing the cathedrall church of that Bischoprick, and that it is fit that such things as do properlie belong thereunto be restored; it is our pleasour that you cause delyver unto the said Bischop these two belles for the use of the said cathedrall church with such tymlie convenience as may be, etc." [3]

In 1693, or thereabout, Iona came into the possession of the Dukes of Argyll. The 8th Duke took a particular pride in the island and its relics. Under his tenure the ruins were put into an orderly state, and through the investigations which were made, hidden portions were brought to light which have greatly added to the interest

[1] *Iona*, by Rev. I. F. S. Gordon, D.D. (1885), p. 29.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. xiv.   [3] *New Statis. Acct.*, vol. vii. p. 332 (note).

of these venerable remains. At the present time the walls of the choir are in pretty good condition, but the nave has almost disappeared. The roofless tower still forms a conspicuous feature from the sea. Many portions of the adjoining monastery have been identified and partially restored in the style of the original building.

The ancient altar stone was still entire in 1688. It was described by Sacheverell, who visited the island at that date, as one of the finest pieces of white marble, veined and polished, that he had ever seen—about five feet long and four feet broad. When another traveller, Pennant, saw it in 1772, a small portion only remained from the habitual pilfering of visitors. The last surviving fragment was removed later to form part of the altar of St Andrew's Episcopal Chapel, Glasgow.[1]

An old prophecy of St Columba, concerning the island which was so dear to him, has been thus translated :

> Isle of my heart, Isle of my love,
> Where monks have chanted kine shall low ;
> But ere the day of doom shall be
> Thy glories shall return to thee.

The prophecy has been literally fulfilled as regards its first part ; for the ancient cathedral was long a pasture-ground for cattle ; in the eyes of some the second part of the verse saw a partial fulfilment in the voices of Benedictine Monks lifted again in praise to God, when, at the Scottish pilgrimage of 1888, in which the present writer took part, the choir at the Pontifical Mass was composed of members of the Benedictine community of Fort Augustus Abbey. Whether a more complete fulfilment yet remains, time will show ; but events seem at present to point in quite an opposite direction. The ancient cathedral has within the last few years been given over by the Duke of Argyll

[1] Gordon, *Iona*, p. 29.

to the Established Church of Scotland to serve for Presbyterian worship. However much a Catholic may regret that a time-hallowed sanctuary should be made over to the use of a religion alien to that for which it was erected, the Cathedral will, at least, escape the degradation of becoming once more a grazing-ground for cattle.

LESMAHAGOW PRIORY

Lesmahagow Priory, in Lanarkshire, sometimes called Lesmachute, was founded by David I. in 1144 as a cell of Kelso, and it remained a dependent house until its suppression. Its name means "Church" or "Garden of St Machutus" (the British *Lys* or *Les*, signifying an enclosed place). The saint in question is identical with the St Malo or Maclou so well known in Brittany; the dedication originated in some of his relics being preserved at Lesmahagow. David, in the charter of the foundation, describes the monastery as "a religious house for the maintenance of as many monks of their order as the means provided will support, and for the hospitable reception of poor travellers."[1] It was a place of sanctuary for those in danger of life or limb, four crosses marking the boundaries of its protecting shelter.

This priory formed a convenient retreat for the Kelso monks in times of war. In spite of its retired situation, however, it was not wholly free from warlike attack. In 1336 John of Eltham, Earl of Cornwall, brother of Edward III., led his troops through Clydesdale and lodged in the priory. Before departing he set fire to the monastery and its church, in which a number of persons had gathered for safety. It is remarkable that,

[1] *Reg. Kelso,* p. 9.

in digging the foundations for a modern church in 1803, so great a number of skeletons was found that the heap was compared to a peat-stack.[1]

Lesmahagow possessed ample revenues and held several churches, of which Dumfries was one. The prior was subject in his government and administration to the Abbot of Kelso, but he had *ex officio* a seat in Parliament. Among the endowments of the priory church were donations to provide wax lights for St Malo's relics; Robert the Bruce, for example, in 1315, made an annual foundation for eight wax candles of a pound weight to burn at the shrine on Sundays and festivals.[2]

At the Reformation the whole of the buildings were destroyed and given to the flames by the " reforming " mob. The only part remaining is the tower of the church. The spacious green which once formed the lawn of the monastery grounds is still called "The Abbey Green." Traces of the monks' garden may still be seen hard by. The community in 1556 numbered only five.[3]

FYVIE PRIORY

Arbroath had a small cell at Fyvie, in Buchan, which was founded by Fergus, Earl of Buchan, in 1179. It received additional endowments from Reginald le Cheyne in 1285. Very few details of its history, beyond the names of some of its priors, have come down to us.

Every Protestant writer who mentions this priory takes care to notice that Abbot Bernard de Linton of Arbroath addressed a letter to Prior Albertinus in 1325, in which he legislated against the dissolute manners of the Fyvie

[1] Gordon, *Ecclesias.*, *Chronicle for Scot.*, vol. iii. p. 489.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 365. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 479.

monks. Some even make it an occasion of charging the monks of that time generally with laxity of life. As a matter of fact, Abbot Bernard makes no charge whatever in the letter aforesaid, as is evident to all who choose to read it ; he merely legislates in the usual terminology proper to such documents that the ecclesiastical and monastic fasts, the solemn celebration of Divine Office, the holding of frequent chapters for the punishment of breaches of rule, shall be looked to by the superior— "lest the observance of regular discipline should be impaired or lost."[1] This mandate with regard to "Chapter" seems to have overawed most writers. Knowing nothing of Catholic practice, they imagine the familiar "Chapter of Faults" to have been a kind of inquisition instituted to punish the delinquencies of the unhappy brethren at Fyvie. These chapters were assemblies of the monks, in which each voluntarily accused himself publicly of any breaches of external observance of which he might be guilty. It may be remarked here that the frequency with which these chapters were to be held—every Monday, Wednesday, and Friday—points to a high state of discipline in the mother abbey.

Prior Alexander Mason built the church in 1470, and a few remains are still to be seen near the banks of the Ythan. A century ago they were more considerable. A cairn and cross were erected about forty years ago to mark the site of the buildings. Monkshill, in the neighbourhood, is another memorial of this monastery.

To sum up adequately the benefits conferred upon Scotland by the Tironensian Benedictines would occupy more space than can be afforded here. It is necessary, however, to touch upon some, if we are to gain even a

[1] *Reg. Vetus*, p. 312.

slight idea of the influence their monasteries exercised on the country at large.   All that has been said of Dunfermline [1] may be affirmed of those described in the present chapter.   As regards learning, for example, Kelso had not only the direction of the schools of Roxburgh, but had its own school within the precincts, in which Matilda, Lady of Molle, placed her son William to be educated "with the scholars of the best rank." [2]   Kelso, moreover, sent some of its monks to study in English universities.[3]   The Abbot of Arbroath and his twenty-nine monks appointed, in 1486, Master Archibald Lame, "a discreet clerk," to teach the younger monks and novices.[4]   Lawrence, a monk of Lindores, was a famous theologian in his time, and the appointed examiner of the Lollard heretics in the reign of James I.   With regard to art, the churches of these monks are sufficient evidence, but Kelso was renowned for another branch of artistic skill ; its charters were famous for their clear calligraphy and splendid illuminations, as that still preserved at Flores Castle testifies.   One of the monks, witnessing a deed in the twelfth century, signs "Stephen, the Writer." [5]

But there was one special benefit which these monks bestowed upon Scotland which must not be passed over. They were adepts in horticulture.   Kilwinning, Lindores, Lesmahagow, are all mentioned in records as renowned for their extensive and well-kept gardens and orchards. Arbroath is said to have first cultivated cabbages in Scotland ; the fruit-trees of Lindores were famous ; the monks took a pride in importing from their French houses the choicest specimens of pears and apples, and the gardens and orchards of the vicinity of that abbey are still famed

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[1] *Vide* chap. ii., pp. 39, 40.

[2] "Cum melioribus et dignioribus scolaribus."—*Registrum*, p. 142.

[3] *Reg.*, p. 441.   [4] *Reg. Nig.*, p. 245.   [5] *Reg. Kelso*, p. 286.

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for the Bon-Chrétien and Bergamot pear-trees which claim descent from the old monastic stock. Some of the original trees planted by the monks still flourish amid the ruins. One grand old pear-tree, said to be the largest in Scotland, measures 17 feet round the base of the trunk, and is thought to be quite four hundred years old.

It is unnecessary to refer to the skill with which these monks managed their extensive possessions. All writers are agreed that in that respect they did inestimable service to civilisation by the example of scientific farming which they set to all holders of land in the early period of their history.

CHAPTER V

PAISLEY AND CROSSRAGUEL ABBEYS

BEFORE entering upon a description of the Scottish
Cluniac monasteries, it is necessary to explain in a few
words in what way they differed in government from
other Benedictine houses.

The Abbey of Cluny, in Burgundy, situated near the
town of Macon, was founded in A.D. 940 by a Duke of
Aquitane, and, under a succession of saintly and learned
abbots, became renowned throughout Christendom for its
admirable discipline. Many of its superiors, St Odo, St
Mayeul, St Odilo, St Hugh, and Peter the Venerable,
were the glory of their age; under their rule, Cluny
developed into a home of saints and a school of solid
learning. Many great bishops came from that monastery,
and it could glory in having given the Church one of
her most powerful popes in the person of the monk
Hildebrand, afterwards Gregory VII.

Other monasteries, attracted by the beauty and order
of the discipline of Cluny, entered into association with
it ; in course of time the abbey could reckon as many as
two thousand monasteries united with it in a vast con-
federation throughout Europe, and forming the monastic
body sometimes—for sake of distinction—styled the
" Order of Cluny." All such dependencies were subject
to the Abbot of Cluny as chief superior ; most of them
had no other title than priory. The same way of life

was followed in all—as close to the primitive ideal of St Benedict's Rule as circumstances would allow.

The first Cluniac house founded in Scotland was that of Paisley. It owed its origin to the munificence of Walter Fitz-Alan, High Steward (or Stewart) of Scotland, the ancestor of the House of Stuart. Walter belonged to a Shropshire family [1]; he came under the notice of David I. at the siege of Winchester, in 1141, when the Scottish king was supporting the claims of his niece (the Empress Matilda) in her contest with Stephen. David, on his return to Scotland, took the young Fitz-Alan into his service and showed him many and special marks of favour. Malcolm IV. continued this generous patronage, and in due time the Stewart became possessed of ample territories in Renfrewshire. It was upon this property that he founded his monastery, as he says in the charter, "for the good of the souls of King David, of King Henry,[2] of Earl Henry, and of my relations and benefactors, and for the welfare of the soul and body of King Malcolm and of my own soul, and to the glory of God, Who hath given me the grace to do it."[3] It was thus that Christian men in the Ages of Faith repaid the benefits of those who had befriended them.

A prior and thirteen monks were brought for the new monastery from the Cluniac Priory of Wenlock, in Shropshire, the founder's native county. The date of their arrival cannot be accurately ascertained, but it was between the years 1163 and 1169. The monastery bore a fourfold dedication: its patrons were St Mary, St James, St Milburga, and St Mirin. Our Lady was a favourite patron with the Cluniacs; moreover, St Mary

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[1] The Fitz-Alans of Shropshire became afterwards Earls of Arundel. *Vide Caledonia*, vol. ii. pp. 572-6.

[2] Henry I. of England, a patron of his family.   [3] *Reg.*, p. 1.

and St James were the titular saints of the church of the Inch, Renfrew, where the monks had first settled before removing to Paisley. St James was patron of the Fitz-Alan family, and this probably accounted for his name having been bestowed upon the church in question. St Milburga was the royal Saxon saint whose relics had acquired special distinction for Wenlock ; St Mirin, the ancient apostle of Paisley and its neighbourhood, left the Irish Bangor in the sixth century to evangelize the unbelievers of the sister island. The Aberdeen Breviary states that the church of Paisley was anciently dedicated to St Mirin ; his memory was already dear to the people of the place when the monks arrived, and his tomb continued to be a favourite place of pilgrimage till the Reformation.

The first church built at Paisley by the founder was probably a much simpler erection than that whose chief portions still remain. A Norman doorway in the nave, with some adjacent windows, are thought to have formed part of the first building. During the troubles relating to the succession, the greater part of the abbey was burned by the English, and it was only when more peaceful days dawned that the monks were able to raise again their ruined sanctuary. The abbot who carried out the greater part of this renovation was Thomas Tervas, and it is a curious fact that the necessary funds were obtained by the selling of wine at a tavern within the gates of the monastery. The charter of James II. conferring that right upon the abbot is to be found in the Register.[1] When Abbot Tervas died in 1459 he had been able to complete the greater part of the church, and to provide

[1] "Damus et concedimus pro perpetuo officiariis, ministris et deputatis Abbatis de Pásleto qui pro tempore fuerint potestatem plenariam tabernandi et vendendi vina infra portas dicti monasterii," etc., p. 258.

for it, as will be seen later, much rich and costly furniture.

When completed, towards the end of the fifteenth century, this noble building consisted of a nave 96 feet long and 29 feet broad, aisles measuring 11 feet across, a transept 90 feet long by 32 feet broad, and an aisleless choir, 123 feet by 32 feet. Its central spire rose to the height of 300 feet. A broad and deep arch with bold Early English mouldings formed the entrance on the west. The north door was sheltered by a deep porch with a parvise above. In this porch, Abbot John de Linlithgow, either because he had built it, or from motives of humility, chose to be buried in 1433. He had ruled the abbey during the reigns of twelve popes and three kings of Scotland. He is the only superior whose monumental inscription may still be deciphered. It is inside the porch in Early English text, and runs as follows:

Johes. d. Lychtgw. abbas. hujus. monastiz. xx. die. mesis. Januarii. ano. dm. mccccxxxiii. Elegit. fieri. sua. sepultura.

John of Lychtgow, abbot of this monastery, made choice of this burial place the 20th day of January, 1433.[1]

Within the church, the pointed arches of the nave were supported on either side by six massive circular clustered pillars. Above these arches ran a triforium of richly decorated circular arches, each divided by a column into two pointed decorated arches. Above these the closely set windows of the clerestory shone through Early English tracery. At the west end were two fine pointed windows over the entrance, and a third of equal size in the gable above. The unusually long choir was fitted with " statlie stallis " for some six and twenty monks. Near the altar were *four* beautifully carved recesses in the south wall,

[1] *Abbey of Paisley*, p. 216.

containing seats for the sacred ministers.[1] Upon the
high altar stood the "statliest tabernakle that was in
al Skotland, and the maist costlie." The furniture of
the sanctuary comprised chandeliers of silver, a lectern
of brass and "mony uther gude jowellis" which had been
"brocht hame" by Abbot Tervas from Rome.[2]

The south wing of the transept was eventually cut off
by two pointed arches supported on a central pillar to form
a separate chapel; this was known as St Mirin's Chapel.
It was built in 1499 by James Crawfurd of Kylwynet,
burgess of Paisley, and Elizabeth, his wife, and dedicated
to the ancient patron of the city, with whom the founders
associated St Columba. The chapel, though small, must
have been of great beauty. It measured 48 feet in length,
and had a groined roof and a fine east window. Under
the window ran a broad band of magnificent carved work,
representing incidents in the life of St Mirin, as given in
his legend. This work has been conjectured to have been
transferred from an earlier building of the twelfth century,
or from some ancient shrine of the saint. After the
Reformation, this chapel was converted into the burying
place of the Abercorn family.

There are records of altars in the church, dedicated to
St Peter, St James, St Nicholas, St Ninian, St Columba,
St Anne and St Catherine; besides these there is certain
to have been one dedicated to Our Lady. The Chapel
of St Roch, in the burgh, with seven roods of land attached
to it, belonged to the abbey; it was served by one of the
monks. All the altars mentioned above were endowed for
their special Masses. At the Reformation, the revenues

1 We shall notice this unusual feature when treating upon the Abbey
of Crossraguel, where the same peculiarity is found.

2 The description of the furniture is in the words of the *Chronicle of
Auchenleck*, p. 19. The "tabernacle" was probably a tryptich.

of these altars, as well as of the chapel, were devoted to
the erection and endowment of a grammar school and
schoolmaster in the burgh.

Paisley Abbey, as it is now, surrounded by the smoke-
stained buildings of a busy manufacturing town, is far
different from what it must have been in the days of its
glory. Its primitive situation was doubtless of striking
beauty. The River Cart—in those days a pure mountain
stream, called from the clearness of its waters the "White
Cart," but now proverbial for its manifold defilements—
flowed quietly by the level mead upon which the abbey
buildings stood. On its opposite bank the ground rose
upwards in undulating slopes, covered with woodland trees,
to the lofty Braes of Gleniffer. To the north were more
hills. The precincts were enclosed in a wall of dressed
stone, upwards of a mile in length ; they consisted of
spacious gardens and orchards, and comprised even a park
for fallow deer. The wall, adorned with statues and
shields of arms, bore under the image of Our Lady the
inscriptions :

> Hac ne vade via, nisi dixeris Ave Maria.
> Sit semper sine vae, qui tibi dicet Ave.

> Pass not along this way, ere you your Ave say.
> From woe may he be free, who saith Ave to thee.

A tablet, let into the wall of one of the houses of the
burgh, recalls the builder of this famous abbey wall, of
which it once formed part :

> Ya callit ye abbot Georg of Schaw,
> About yis abbay gart make yis waw ;
> A thousande four hundereth zheyr,
> Auchty ande fywe, the date but veir.
> [Pray for his saulis salvacioun]
> That made thus nobil fundacioun.

They called the abbot who caused this wall to be built around this
abbey, George Shaw; its date was 1485. Pray for the salvation of his
soul who made this noble foundation.

The fifth line no longer exists; it was hewn off in
the eighteenth century by an over-zealous Presbyterian
minister. Abbot Shaw also built a refectory and other
conventual buildings, and in many ways greatly benefited
the abbey.

From an inscription on the wall of the south transept of
Melrose it has been discovered that the overseer of the
mason work at Paisley was one John Morow, a French-
man by birth; no record remains of him in the latter
minster. Much of the sculpture was carried out under
Abbot Thomas Tervas, however, by Thomas Hector,
familiarly called " Ald " or " Old " Hector in some of the
existing memoranda.

The first historical event of any importance in connec-
tion with Paisley Abbey was the appointment of its first
abbot. From its foundation till 1245—a period of eighty
years—the monastery, in accordance with Cluniac practice,
held the rank of a priory only. Its generous founder had
liberally endowed it with worldly possessions. In his old
age he had become a monk at Melrose, but at his death,
in 1178, was buried at Paisley; he had been long before
received as a con-frater and participator in the prayers of
the whole Cluniac Order.[1]   His son, the second Stewart,
imitated his father's generosity, and, like him, chose Paisley
as the place of his burial. Walter, the third Stewart, was
still more prominently connected with the abbey. The
inferior position of Paisley among Scottish monasteries
was displeasing to the founder's family. Its distance from

[1] " Ipsum etiam Walterum, loci illius fundatorem et tanti beneficii
largitorem, in fratrem suscipimus, et omnium orationum totius ordinis.
Cluniaci participem constituimus."   *Reg.*, p. 3.

France, too—for it was, like Wenlock, a dependency of La Charité—rendered it subject to many inconveniences as to the reception of subjects and their admission to profession. King Alexander III. accordingly appealed to Pope Honorius III.—probably at the instigation of the Stewart —and asked that Paisley might be raised to abbatial rank. The Pope, in 1219, appointed a commission, consisting of the Bishop of Glasgow and the Abbots of Kelso and Melrose, to inquire into the circumstances, and to allow the monks to elect an abbot if it should seem well.[1] The commissioners duly considered the matter, and, after consulting the Prior of Wenlock, decided in favour of an abbacy. Nothing could be done, however, till the Abbot of Cluny gave his consent, and it was not till twenty-six years later that the desire of the monks was granted.

When the Council of Lyons assembled in 1245, William of Glasgow and other Scottish bishops took part. After the council was over the Abbot of Cluny entertained the Pope, the Emperor Baldwin II., the King of France, twelve cardinals, two patriarchs, three archbishops, and a crowd of bishops and of guests of lesser rank within his renowned abbey; it was probably on this occasion, in answer to the earnest request of the Scottish prelates, that Abbot William consented to allow Paisley to be raised to the rank of an abbey. In spite of this concession, nearly a century passed before the Abbot of Paisley received the crowning distinction; for the privilege of using *pontificalia* was not granted till 1334 by Pope Benedict XII.[2]

The third Stewart, like his father and grandfather, was buried in the abbey, which thenceforth became the recognised resting-place of the family. By the generosity of the Stewarts, Paisley had by this time become the most

[1] *Reg.*, p. 8.　　　　　[2] *Ibid.*, p. 429.

wealthy monastery in the southern counties with the
exception of Kelso.   When the Gilbertine house at
Dulmullen, Ayrshire, which had been founded by the first
Stewart, was relinquished by that Order in 1238, its
property, including the revenues of four churches, was
bestowed upon Paisley.   The abbey had also rights over
the mills belonging to the founder's family, a share in the
deer killed in his forests, salmon and herring-fishing in
the Clyde, a saltwork in Stirlingshire, and many other like
privileges.   It has been remarked that " there was not in
all Scotland any example of a monastic establishment
being so liberally endowed by a private family as that of
Paisley by the first three Stewarts."[1]   Kelso, its only
rival south of the Forth, was, it will be remembered, a
royal foundation.   At the dissolution of the Scottish
monasteries, Paisley held more than thirty parish churches,
some of them served by mere chaplains in the pay of
the abbey.

In 1296 Edward I. received the homage of the abbot,
who, sorely against his will, was compelled to swear fealty
to the English monarch.   When Wallace came forward
on behalf of his country's freedom, he had no truer friends
than the monks of Paisley.   He had probably been taught
by them in early youth ; for he was one of their
parishioners.   His veneration for the Church, his respect
for the clergy, his love for the sacred offices, are witnessed
to by historians ; it is but natural that these qualities
should be regarded as the result of his early training.   To
the same source may perhaps be traced the characteristic
devotion of his after-years—" that love of the Psalms,
which lasted until he died, with a priest holding a Psalter
open, at his request, before his darkening eyes."[2]

[1] *Caledonia*, vol. vi. p. 822.
[2] *The Early Days of Sir William Wallace*, by the Marquis of Bute.

The accession of the Stewarts to the Scottish throne, through intermarriage with the reigning family and the failure of male heirs, brought Paisley Abbey into still greater prominence; for the descendants of the founder were always loyal in their affections towards the religious house which owed its existence to their ancestor. Henceforth it ranked among the royal abbeys.

Marjory, daughter of the Bruce, and wife of Walter Stewart, was buried in the Abbey Church about 1316. Her son, Robert II., was the first of the Stewart kings. This monarch became a generous benefactor to Paisley, erecting into a barony all the abbey lands of Lennox, in recognition of the fact that the house had been founded by his ancestor. King Robert was not buried in the minster, but in the Abbey of Scone. His first wife, Elizabeth More, and Eupheme, his queen, both found a resting-place at Paisley. Robert III. continued to show the same lively interest in the monastery, which his forefathers had always exhibited. By a charter of this king,[1] a large portion of the abbey lands were erected into a free regality; by this grant the abbot received a communication of the royal privileges as to exclusive criminal jurisdiction in that part of his territory. A similar grant had already been made as to other lands by Robert II.[2]

Robert III. was the last of his race who was buried at Paisley. His latter years were full of trouble. His favourite son, the Duke of Rothesay, had been murdered in the most cruel manner in Falkland Palace; his remaining son, afterwards James I., was seized on his way to France, and detained prisoner for some years at the English court. The shock of this second catastrophe hastened the death of the gentle, blameless monarch. "Bury me, I pray you, in a dunghill, and write for me this epitaph—

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[1] *Reg.*, p. 91.   [2] *Ibid.*, p. 199.

'Here lies the worst king and most miserable man in the universe.'"[1] Such are the words put into his mouth by an historian, and it is striking to note their almost literal fulfilment. Robert III. was probably the only Scottish king to whom no monument was ever erected. "The only record of his place of burial," says a modern writer, "is in the pages of the historian. The rank grass of the neglected and ill-kept churchyard waves over his resting-place, and the dust of the humblest mingles with his royal remains."[2]

In later times the abbots of Paisley were again brought into frequent contact with royalty by their promotion to offices of State. Thus, Abbot Henry Crichton (1464) was held in high esteem at the court of James III., and was employed in some important diplomatic negotiations. Abbot Shaw, who has been already mentioned as builder of some notable portions of the monastery, was entrusted with the education of the Duke of Ross, James III.'s second son, who later on became Archbishop of St Andrews. The same abbot became, in 1495, Lord High Treasurer of Scotland. He was always especially dear to King James IV., who was frequently a visitor to the abbey. It was from the same Abbot Shaw, one of the Papal Commissioners, that the king, in his youth, had received absolution from the excommunication incurred by him, in common with the other members of the conspiracy, for his share in the rebellion against his father, James III. The prince made a pilgrimage of penance, on that occasion, to the shrine of St Ninian at Whithorn, and afterwards went to Paisley to be absolved. The Treasurer's Accounts for 1491 show that he gave a present to the workmen at that time employed on the new buildings:

[1] *Fordun* (Goodall), vol. ii. p. 440.
[2] *Paisley Abbey*, p. 121.

" Item, 21 Novembris, to the massonis of Paysla . . . Xs." [1]

In 1504 and 1507 there are records of several visits of
the same king. In the latter year he and his queen,
Margaret Tudor, spent eight days at Paisley, joining in
the services of the church. Several offerings occur in the
Treasurer's Accounts at this time, such as fourteen shillings
at Mass, and the same sum for lights, on St Anne's Day,
with others of a similar kind.

It was under this sovereign that Paisley was erected
into a burgh with its own cross and market, and all the
privileges of a town; over it the abbot received full
authority, including the power of trying his tenants for
all offences without exception. He was able, also, to
appoint a provost, bailies, and other officers, and to remove
them at will, without any interference on the part of the
citizens. It was in recognition of the honour done to
Paisley, as well as of the many benefits received from the
abbey, that several of the burgesses bestowed endowments,
from time to time, upon the various altars and chantries in
the minster.

Paisley, towards the end of its history, had to suffer,
together with all other Scottish monasteries, from the
scourge of "abbots *in commendam*." It was fortunate,
however, in receiving as titular superior in 1525, one who
always took a keen interest in its welfare. John Hamilton, a
natural son of the Earl of Arran, had been placed as a monk
in the Abbey of Kilwinning in his early years. When Abbot
Robert Shaw, through the influence of James V., was
raised to the See of Moray, the vacant abbacy was given
to the youthful Hamilton. The new abbot spent some
three years at the University of Paris, in order to prosecute
his studies, leaving the abbey in charge of the prior.

[1] *Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland*, vol. i. p. 183.

When he returned, bringing with him a good reputation
for learning and uprightness of life, Knox and his disciples,
who were then rampant, had hopes of a new convert.   The
abbot, however, attached himself from the first to the
Catholic party.   He received many favours from his half-
brother, the Regent Arran.   He became Keeper of the
Privy Seal, then Lord High Treasurer; later on he was
named Bishop of Dunkeld, and eventually became, in 1549,
Archbishop of St Andrews, still retaining his Abbey of
Paisley.   It is to be regretted that his moral character in
later life did not fulfil the promise of his early years.   He,
nevertheless, died a victim to Presbyterian hatred, on
account of his adherence to Catholicism in his later years,
and his unswerving loyalty to Queen Mary, being hanged
in his episcopal vestments at Stirling in 1571, after having
been more than once cited and imprisoned for the crime
of saying Mass.

Archbishop Hamilton had resigned the abbacy of Paisley
in 1553 in favour of his nephew, Lord Claud Hamilton, a
boy of ten, retaining the administration till the youthful
commendator should have come to years of discretion.   It
has been surmised that the archbishop foresaw the uni-
versal wreck which was soon to come about, and resolved
to save what he could.   Lord Claud married—for he never
became an ecclesiastic—and kept possession of the property
he had acquired, passing it on to his family.   A Protestant
mob more than once attacked the abbey, but though the
buildings were much ruined, they never met with the
wholesale destruction meted out to some other monastic
houses.

The people of the town clung to the old Faith, under
protection of the Hamiltons, and refused to receive the
new preachers.   Their hearts were bound to the monks,
who had always proved their best friends and most

generous patrons; for, besides other charities, while the abbey flourished, seven chalders of meal were weekly distributed to the needy of the burgh. A few of the monks still lingered about their old home, and continued to say Mass in the remaining portion of the church as late as 1572. Doubtless this helped to keep the Faith alive; for, nearly a hundred years after the Reformation, Paisley is described, in spite of continued persecutions from the Presbyterians, as "a very nest of Papists." [1]

The buildings passed through various hands in the course of their history—from the Hamiltons to the Earl of Angus and then to Lord Dundonald; part of the abbey, known as "The Place" of Paisley, became a mansion-house. The property eventually returned to the family of Abercorn, descendants of the last commendators, the Hamiltons. The gardens and park remained in their original state till about a century ago; now they are built upon, and the old mansion-house has been divided into tenements.

The nave of the church—the only available portion—was used for Presbyterian worship, in spite of the disgraceful state in which it was allowed to remain; for the fine western doorway was long blocked up by a dunghill; the graveyard soil covered the foundations up to the windows; and the interior was like a mouldy vault—its upper windows blocked by unsightly galleries. In 1862 the building was thoroughly restored, and is still used as a parish church.

The roofless transept and choir still remain, as well as two piers of the central tower. St Mirin's Chapel is also in a nearly perfect state. As in the case of many other ecclesiastical ruins in Scotland, stones have been ruthlessly taken away for the erection of buildings in the town; yet,

[1] *Paisley Abbey*, p. 247.

in spite of all its vicissitudes, Paisley, thanks to the zeal and care of lovers of antiquity, can boast of more extensive remains than any other of the old Scottish Benedictine houses.

CROSSRAGUEL ABBEY

The second of the Cluniac foundations in Scotland was that of Crossraguel, about two miles distant from May-bole, in Ayrshire. Its founder was Duncan, Earl of Carrick, who about the close of the twelfth century granted certain lands in the district to the Abbey of Paisley, on condition that a monastery should be established at Crossraguel by a community sent from the former house. Besides a generous donation of annual revenue, the earl presented many books and ornaments for the use of the church which would have to be built. All that seems to have been done, during some years, by the Paisley house, was the erection of a small oratory at Crossraguel, where services were conducted by some of the monks from the mother house. The earl, being dissatisfied with the way in which his wishes were being carried out, made complaint to the Abbot of Paisley, and obtained the help of the Bishop of Glasgow as arbitrator. The result was the establishment in 1244 of an abbey dedicated to St Mary. The monks had the privilege of electing their own abbot, but the abbey was subject to the annual visitation of the Abbot of Paisley. Earl Duncan superintended the erection of the monastic buildings till his death in 1250.

It seems probable that the chief portions of the buildings now remaining were finished about the middle of the fifteenth century; it is therefore extremely probable that very little is left of the original structure. The church, to judge from its ruins, was an oblong building without aisles, terminating at its eastern end with a five-sided apse; it

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measured about 164 feet in length and 25 feet in width. Originally there were transepts; but when the choir was rebuilt, early in the fifteenth century, the north transept was pulled down, and the south transept was converted into a sacristy with a chapter-house adjoining. A rood-loft formerly ran across the western end of the choir. Later on, when the new choir was erected, a solid wall, broken by an arched door only, divided it from the nave. There was a belfry gable at the junction of the two portions with openings for two bells. The High Altar in the apse was approached by three very broad, shallow steps—or rather platforms. The five windows surrounding the sanctuary were filled with rich tracery. Beneath the window in the south wall were *sedilia* for the sacred ministers under elaborately carved arches, and near to them was a *piscina*, decorated in similar style. It is curious that the *sedilia* were four in number, as at Paisley. The feature is unusual and is found in a few churches only; it is not peculiar to the Cluniacs. As it occurs in such divergent examples as Gloucester Cathedral (Benedictine), Furness (Cistercian), Rothwell, Northants (Augustinian), St Mary Ottery and Stratford-on-Avon (Collegiate), and Turvey and Luton (parish churches in Bedfordshire), it seems highly probable that it was a mere fancy of the respective architects. In Southwell Minster (a collegiate church), the *sedilia* number five; in several churches there are two seats, and in some, one for the celebrant only. Three is the usual number.

The windows of the nave were all upon the north side, and the same arrangement is evident in the lower part of the choir; this was a necessity, as the buildings of the monastery adjoined the south wall of the church. The nave itself came to be called "St Mary's Aisle," or "Virgin's Aisle";[1] this seems to point to some altar of

[1] *Charters*, vol. i. p. 92.

Our Lady in the vicinity. The small church without aisles afforded no sites for altars besides the High Altar and perhaps two in front of the Rood Screen ; Our Lady's Altar may therefore have been, as in many other churches, in the latter position.

The sacristy, formed, together with the chapter-house, from the south transept, was a handsome building, measuring 20 feet by 15 feet, with a groined roof. The adjoining chapter-house was about 20 feet square. Between two graceful pointed windows at the eastern side was a stone seat in an arched recess for the abbot ; a stone bench ran round the building for the use of the brethren. The groined roof was supported by a central pillar. Over these apartments were the scriptorium and the library. The cloister-garth was about 56 feet square, and had a well in its centre ; to the south stood the refectory, with, probably, a dormitory over it, and the common room, or calefactory, was to the west. The refectory was about 30 feet long and 18 feet wide ; it had an arched recess for the reader, and a hatch opened into the buttery or pantry for the serving of meals from the adjoining kitchen. The abbot's house stood towards the north-east, in connection with the gate-house, which was surmounted by a square tower of baronial style. All the offices requisite for a monastery may still be traced ; but though the buildings were well arranged, they were not of great extent ; for the monks never numbered more than ten or twelve at the most.

Crossraguel was always closely associated with the family of Bruce. In 1268 Robert de Brus, Lord of Annandale, married Marjory, Countess of Carrick in her own right ; their son became eventually King Robert the Bruce. Thus the abbey was identified with the anti-English party during the wars relating to the succession. Nevertheless,

the monks had to submit to the occupation of their house
by the English general in 1306, when his army dominated
the whole country round.   Though some damage was done
to the buildings in those perilous times, Crossraguel suffered
far less than many of the other monasteries.   The Bruce,
when raised to the throne, did not forget the loyalty of the
monks.   During the latter years of his life, not only were
his gifts of landed property frequent and lavish, but he
formed all the possessions of Crossraguel into a barony
under the abbot's jurisdiction.   This grant was amplified
by Robert III., in 1404, by the erection of the abbey lands
into a free regality, by which the abbot received all the
power and supremacy which the Crown was able to bestow.
The charter of Robert is an evidence of the affection which
the royal descendants of the founder always cherished for
the abbey.

Although the chartulary of Crossraguel seems to have
been examined by Father Hay, the Augustinian, and other
writers of the eighteenth century, when it was actually in
the possession of the Earl of Cassillis, it has now disap-
peared.   The only reliable source of information regard-
ing the internal history of the house is the collection made
by the Ayrshire Association of such scattered documents
relating to the abbey as still exist in various libraries and
charter-chests throughout Scotland. This, though valuable,
does not profess to be complete; hence, comparatively little
is known of the progress of events at Crossraguel during
the early part of its existence.   Still, some few interesting
facts may be gleaned.

From a visitation made in 1405 on behalf of the Abbey
of Cluny, the number of monks then forming the com-
munity was ten.   In 1460, an energetic abbot, Colin by
name, set to work to restore the buildings.   He gave
himself with such interest to his task that he is said to

have spent whole days among the masons and other work-
men. The result of his devotion was probably the beautiful
chapter-house and the other buildings of the same period
and the restoration of the church. His architectural taste
rendered him a favourite with James III.[1]

Abbot William Kennedy (1520) was a man of still
greater influence. He was at one time a member of the
Privy Council, and took frequent part in State affairs.
He was a patron of learning, and an intimate friend of
the leading men of his time. Archbishop Gavin Dunbar,
of Glasgow, gave proof of his high esteem for the abbot
by entrusting to his safe keeping all his treasure and
personal property, when rumours of coming danger to
the Scottish Church began to be heard. Besides nearly
£4000 in money, this deposit comprised a great quantity
of rich vestments, jewels and plate.

The most distinguished of all the abbots of the house
was, undoubtedly, Quintin Kennedy, the last regular
superior. He was the nephew of Abbot William, and
succeeded him in 1547, when only twenty-seven years of
age. It was a period of difficulty and danger for the
Catholic religion as well as for monastic life, and Abbot
Quintin was the only man of his time fitted for his arduous
task. He was the son of the second Earl of Cassillis, and
his noble birth was in after years of immense advantage to
the abbey in securing protection against persecution and
oppression. Having received a thorough education at St
Andrews and in Paris, Abbot Quintin was well able to
cope with the religious errors which were then spreading
in Scotland. For the ten years which preceded the
Reformation, he was almost constantly engaged in refut-
ing Protestant principles. When the packed Parliament
of 1560 overthrew the Catholic religion, the abbot

[1] *Charters of Crossraguel*, vol. i. p. xxxiii.

defended his abbey so energetically, that through the influence of his family he was able to stave off for a time the destruction which threatened Crossraguel in common with all other religious houses. When the enemies of the Church at length prevailed, there is little doubt that the abbey was saved from utter demolition by his powerful influence alone. Knox thus relates the circumstances of its partial ruin :

> The Lords of Secreit Counsaill maid ane Act, that all Places and Monumentis of Idolatry sould be destroyed. And for that Purpose wer direct to the West, the Erle of Arrane, haveing joyned with him the Erles of Argyll and Glencairne, togither with the Protestantes of the West, quho brunt Paislay (the Bischope of Sanct Androis, quha was Abbote thareof narrowly escaiped) cuist down Failfurd, Kylwining, and a Parte of Corsraguell.[1]

Even after these events Abbot Kennedy had the courage to meet Knox himself in a public discussion at Maybole, in September, 1562.[2] The conference lasted for three days, and the abbot maintained his part with conspicuous ability. It was brought somewhat abruptly to an end by Knox's demand for an adjournment to Ayr, which the abbot refused. After devoting many years of his life to the refutation of error, and using with much success every means in his power to preserve the Catholic Faith intact among the people of Galloway, Abbot Quintin died in 1564.

Under Alan Stewart, to whom Crossraguel was granted *in commendam*, many of the monks, who had been driven out in the overthrow of part of the buildings, returned to resume monastic life. One of these, Gilbert Kennedy, was censured by the General Assembly at Ayr, in 1587, for refusing to communicate in the Presbyterian Kirk

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[1] Knox, *Historie*, book iii.   [2] *Charters*, i. p. 128.

and for baptising privately.[1]   We shall have to refer to
him again later.

After passing through various hands, the revenues of
this abbey were granted to the Bishop of Dunblane ; but
when, in 1689, the Parliament abolished episcopacy, they
reverted to the Crown.   From a letter of James VI.'s,
published in the Miscellany of the Maitland Club, it
appears that in 1602 it had been in contemplation to
restore Crossraguel to serve as a residence for Prince
Henry.   The letter, addressed to Sir John Vaus, runs as
follows :

Richt traist freind we great yow hertlie wele.   In respect we intend
to caus build and repair the hous and place of Corsragwell to the use of
our dearest sone the Prince to quhome the same is maist proper for his
residence quhen he salhappin to resorte in thai pairtes.[2]

The project, however, was never carried into effect.

The remains of the abbey, at the present day, include
the walls and part of the gables of the church ; the
sacristy and chapter-house ; and traces of the refectory
and other offices.   Considerable portions of the abbot's
house and its tower may still be seen.   Conspicuous
among the remains of the domestic offices is a large stone
dovecot in complete preservation.   It contains fourteen
rows of small chambers for the nests of the pigeons.

In its palmy days Crossraguel possessed property of
considerable extent.   The greater part of the county of
Ayr south of the Doon belonged to the abbey.   Five
churches were in the patronage of the monks, and were
served by vicars ; two others, Dailly and Kirkoswald,
were administered by chaplains only, the abbey appro-
priating all the revenues.   The right of working the
coalpits on their property was exercised by the monks,[3]

1 *Charters*, ii. p. 58.   2 *Ibid.*, ii. p. 67.   3 *Ibid.*, i. p. 122.

and mills and forests were other important sources of income.

With the history of Crossraguel we bring to an end the first part of our subject—the Scottish houses of Black Monks. We pass on now to the consideration of the Cistercian monasteries.

PART II

CISTERCIANS

CHAPTER I

THE Religious Order known by the title of Cistercian has borne many other names in the course of its history. In allusion to the colour of their habit, its members have been often styled " White Monks," to distinguish them from the Benedictines proper, or " Black Monks " ; sometimes they are called " Bernardines," in memory of their most famous abbot, the great St Bernard. But the name Cistercian is the most common designation. It is derived from the Latin word, *Cistercium*, the equivalent of the French name of their first monastery, Citeaux, which became the mother-house of the Order.

The first Cistercians were originally Benedictines of the Abbey of Molesme, in the diocese of Langres, France. The abbot, Robert, desirous of leading a life of greater austerity, more complete poverty, and more rigorous silence than was customary in that eleventh century in any Benedictine monastery, left Molesme in company with twenty of his monks, like-minded with himself, and established a new foundation at a place known as Citeaux, then but a marshy wilderness, in the diocese of Chalons, and not far from the town of Dijon. For this course of action Robert had obtained leave from Hugh, Archbishop of Lyons, and Legate of the Holy See.

In the retreat they had chosen, the monks found a rude chapel of small dimensions; this served as their first oratory. They worked with their own hands in the construction of a habitation of rough timber, which was later on made

more durable by the help of Odo, Duke of Burgundy, who conceived a great esteem for the austere solitaries. On St Benedict's Day, March 21, 1098, which in that year fell upon Palm Sunday, the new monastery was inaugurated by the election of Robert as first abbot. He received the pastoral staff from the hands of William, bishop of the diocese, who gave to the abbey the title of New Minster. The little church, renovated and completed, was dedicated in the following year in honour of the Blessed Virgin Mary.

The founder, Robert, was not, however, allowed to remain in his new monastery. A little more than a year after his instalment as abbot, Pope Urban II., in consideration of the urgent need of his presence at Molesme, and moved by the unceasing petitions of the monks of that house for his return, directed the Bishop of Chalons to arrange, if it could be done without offence, for the restoration of the abbot to his former flock. Robert, in obedience to the Pope's wish, complied without hesitation, and returned to Molesme, where he died in A.D. 1100. He was later enrolled among the saints as St Robert of Molesme.

Though deprived of their leader, the monks of Citeaux continued their austere way of life under Alberic as abbot. In the year 1100, Pope Pascal II. gave his solemn approbation to the new Institute. At the death of Alberic, Stephen Harding, an Englishman, succeeded to the abbacy.

So severe was the way of life at Citeaux, that few were led to embrace it, and it seemed as though the new Order must come to an end with the death of the last survivor of the little band of monks who had followed St Robert thither. But better days were in store. In 1113, thirty youths of noble blood, led by Bernard of Fontaines, entered

the novitiate, and with their arrival the Order of Citeaux
sprang into new life.   Their fervent example led others
in the same direction, and many foundations had to be
made to provide for the ever-increasing number of voca-
tions.   So rapidly did the Order grow that St Stephen,
before his death, saw as many as 100 monasteries estab-
lished in various parts of Europe.   During the twenty-five
years of his rule, Stephen had developed the principles
which had influenced St Robert in founding Citeaux, and
had fixed by written laws, which had received the approval
of the Holy See, the usages to be followed in all monas-
teries, to their most minute particulars, in addition to the
prescriptions of the Rule of St Benedict.   His legislations
were in some respects so unlike anything hitherto pre-
scribed in monasteries, that St Stephen is credited with the
separation of Cistercians as an entirely independent Order,
and by some writers is called the real founder of the
Institute.

Stephen died in 1134, and henceforth St Bernard, who
had been made by him Abbot of Clairvaux, was the pro-
minent figure in the Order.   After a brilliant and saintly
career as abbot for some thirty-eight years, he passed
from this world in the year 1153, leaving behind him, in
addition to those already in existence before, as many as
160 monasteries which had been founded by his own
exertions.   It was during the lifetime of St Bernard that
Cistercian monks, already settled in England during
the rule of St Stephen Harding, were introduced into
Scotland.

The Spirit of the Order

Before treating of the Scottish Cistercian houses, a
few words must be said upon the characteristic spirit
which distinguished the Order of Citeaux.   As we have

seen, it was the aim of St Robert and his companions to devote themselves to a life of more severe monastic discipline than was possible in their former home at Molesme. They did not seek, at first, to establish a new rule of living, but rather to carry out, in all its primitive rigour, the Rule of St Benedict, which they had bound themselves by vow to observe.

Benedictine life had adapted itself, during the five centuries of its existence, to circumstances of time and place. Many external changes had, consequently, been brought about. In the beginning, monasticism bore a lay rather than a priestly character. Very few monks were raised to the ecclesiastical state, since the majority did not possess the requisite knowledge or qualifications for the dignity. Any man who might present himself as a candidate for monastic life, provided he proved to be in earnest, was accepted as a member of the monastic family. Thus, learned and unlearned were on the same footing, following exactly one and the same way of life. But, in course of time, the Church called upon the monastic order to supply priests for the ever-increasing needs of souls. Thus, by degrees, it became more customary for monks, as their superiors might see fit, to be chosen for promotion to the ranks of the clergy, and the time necessary for the studies which were to fit them for their priestly state compelled them to relinquish much of the manual labour which, in the beginning of their Order, formed, next to the celebration of the Divine Office, their chief occupation. In this way monks gradually devoted themselves to mental rather than bodily labour, and in course of time the distinction between Choir Monks and Lay Brothers—introduced by St John Gualbert in the eleventh century — tended to accentuate the change. Learning and study attracted the notice of those outside

the monastery, and thus monks were brought more into touch with the world beyond the cloister.

It cannot be denied that with the loss of the primitive simplicity of monasticism, monks had lost much of the austerity of life which was so marked in St Benedict himself and in his earlier disciples. In the eleventh century, in spite of the fervent spirit infused into the Order by the influence of the powerful Abbey of Cluny with its many saintly abbots, a hundred years before, the austere type of monasticism which appealed to St Robert and his fervent companions had disappeared.

The great aim of the Cistercians, then, was to restore the simple secluded life of the early monks, in which the praises of God should alternate with arduous bodily labour, and in which, though study was to have its place as regards those whose education and temperament might fit them for it, manual rather than mental toil was to be the prominent note of the Institute. In such a state of things the severe laws of fasting and abstinence observed during early Benedictine centuries might be carried out in all their rigour.

The founders of this new departure from the discipline current at the time, foresaw that to prevent gradual changes in their body it was necessary to establish one centre of authority for all monasteries which should spring from the first establishment at Citeaux. The Rule of St Benedict made each abbey a self-contained institution, independent of any external control. The Cluniacs had brought in an element of change in making all abbeys in connection with their mother-house subordinate to the Abbot of Cluny, their superiors being nominated by him, and the discipline of each house regulated by that of Cluny. These principles were pushed still further by the Cistercians. Citeaux, in due course, became the centre

of all administration for the entire Order. The Cluniacs had remained Benedictines in everything, cherishing the ancient traditions of the primitive monks, but following the path laid down by centuries of custom as regards the externals of monastic life. Cistercians, though still clinging to St Benedict as their Father and Guide, brought into existence an entirely new method of government. They formed themselves into an independent Order, by bringing about the establishment of an organised body, under the continual pre-eminence of the Abbot of Citeaux, who had power to visit any monastery at will, and to preside over all other superiors in the yearly chapters summoned by him. Absolute uniformity in all things in every monastery was thus secured, while the principle of the distinct family character of each house, as regards its inmates, was strictly maintained. A further distinguishing mark of severance from the main Benedictine body was the adoption by the Cistercians of a white habit as a sign of special devotion to the Blessed Virgin Mary, to whom all their monasteries were, as a rule, dedicated.

CHAPTER II

WHEN, through the influence of St Margaret, the Black
Monks appeared in Scotland, it was just at the period
when Citeaux was spreading its branches over Europe in
the first fervour of its recent institution. It was, there-
fore, only to be expected that the devout David I.,
Margaret's worthy son, should favour the new reform,
and look to it for monks wherewith to people the monas-
teries he was at all times so generously disposed to build
whenever the opportunity arose. Although he finished
Dunfermline, which his parents had begun, the only abbey
of Black Monks which owed its origin to David was
Kelso; that house, with its dependent Priory of Lesma-
hagow, and the Cell of Dunfermline which he established
at Urquhart, in Moray, were indeed the only Benedictine
monasteries which could claim him as founder. His
munificence towards the Cistercians, on the other hand,
proves his predilection for the more austere type of
monasticism of which they were the exponents; of the
eleven abbeys existing in Scotland at the Reformation,
four owed their existence to this king, and all the others
were colonised from these four.

MELROSE ABBEY

The first house of the Order established in Scotland was
the Abbey of Melrose. It was in a broad glen on the
south side of the Tweed, about eighteen miles above the
point where that river begins to form the boundary be-

tween England and Scotland, that David determined to place the new monastery. The scenery of the Tweed valley is renowned for beauty, but in no part is it more strikingly diversified than in that particular spot. The river winds through pleasant meadows; on the north side of the valley are wooded hills, and on the south the graceful peaks of the Eildon mountains rise to the height of some thirteen hundred feet. When the Cistercian house was begun in the year 1136, a little village, known by the name of Fordel, occupied the site of the town which, in later years, grew up round the abbey walls. From the title given to the new monastery from its commencement, it seems reasonable to suppose that David had at first intended to restore the ruined abbey which first bore the name of Melrose, situated about two miles off. This older foundation had been the monastic home of St Cuthbert and his master, St Boisil, but had been uninhabited by monks for the better part of a century.[1] From whatever cause, the royal founder chose a site entirely new, and in that picturesque spot rose the second Melrose, destined to surpass the first in splendour and to equal it in renown.[2]

The monks for the community of the new abbey were brought from Rievaulx, which had been peopled from Citeaux itself. So energetically was the building work pushed on that in ten years' time a church was ready for

[1] *Teviotdale*, p. 193.

[2] It is curious that a work such as Migne's *Dictionnaire des Abbayes et Monastères* should so confuse the two distinct localities as to treat them as one monastery. After speaking of the first foundation, the compiler continues: "On y adopta au XIIe siècle la règle de Citeaux" (*vide* art. "Melrose"). Old Melrose was a Columban monastery which later adopted the Benedictine rule. Destroyed in the ninth century, it was restored in the eleventh, and inhabited for about two years only by Benedictines from Winchcombe in Gloucestershire.

consecration, and was dedicated to St Mary the Virgin. The rapidity with which it was erected, considering the resources of that age, was, no doubt, owing to the rigorous simplicity of the early Cistercian churches. Contrary to the principles of the Benedictines, who delighted in surrounding their worship with all that was costly and beautiful in architecture and adornments, the Order of Citeaux carried the observance of strict poverty even into the House of God. Except the vessels of the altar, which were of silver, they permitted no ornaments of gold or silver to appear there. Crosses were to be of wood or iron ; lamps and candlesticks of iron ; thuribles of brass ; vestments of the plainest kind and devoid of excessive adornment. In a later age this primitive rigour was so greatly modified that Cistercian churches vied with those of any religious body in magnificence. David I., in his foundation charter, bestowed upon the abbey much landed property as well as fisheries, pasturage, and the right of cutting timber in his forests. The generosity of the royal founder was imitated by later kings as well as by many Scottish nobles, who, by their ample donations, soon raised the monastery to a state of comparative wealth.

The first church was not destined to last two centuries. When Edward II. pushed an army across the border in 1322, he succeeded in reaching Edinburgh, but had eventually to retire southward for lack of provisions. Desiring to rest at Melrose, he sent forward an advance guard of three hundred men to announce his coming, but a considerable number of them were slain by the Scots, who were in ambush near ; and in his anger at the occurrence, Edward led his forces upon the abbey, suspecting —and with reason, as some suppose—that the monks were privy to the attack. No mercy was shown to the unfortunate Cistercians ; the infuriated soldiers killed the prior

and two or three others, and wounded many. They pillaged the monastery and reduced it to a state of ruin, not sparing even the church, but plundering the sacred vessels and actually carrying off the very pyx, after profanely casting out upon the altar the Sacred Host which it contained.[1]

When peace was restored and the Bruce was in power, that generous monarch gave his special attention to the rebuilding and beautifying of the desecrated church and cloister. In 1326 he made a munificent grant of lands and rents, to the extent of some fifty thousand pounds of our money, to forward the work of restoration. In 1329, a few weeks before his death, King Robert, in a special document, commended the monastery to his son and successor, David II., and his descendants, confirming all his benefactions and appointing Melrose as the place in which his heart should be enshrined after death.[2] It is noteworthy that, although the king subsequently revoked the latter clause and bequeathed his heart to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem, circumstances brought it about that his original design should be carried out. For his faithful and attached friend, Sir James Douglas, on his way to Palestine with the casket containing the embalmed heart, found King Alfonso of Spain engaged in a war with the Moors, and was urged by his martial valour and zeal for Christianity to take part therein. He displayed a courage and energy worthy of his name, but was destined to lose his life in the cause he had espoused. Surrounded by infidel hosts, he threw from his neck the casket which he bore, crying out to the heart of the brave Bruce : " Now pass onward, as thou were wont, and Douglas will follow thee or die." [3] He fell by the

[1] Fordun, *Scotichronicon*, lib. xiii. cap. iv.
[2] *Ubi cor nostrum ex speciali devotione disposuimus tumulandum. Liber de Melros*, p. 329. [3] Tytler, *Hist. of Scot.*, vol. i. chap. v.

swords of his enemies, and beside his dead body was found the casket, which, together with the remains of the "Good Sir James," was borne back to Scotland.   And thus King Robert's heart came to be enshrined in Melrose Abbey.

The building of the minster was probably still progressing when war broke out between England and Scotland on account of the claim of Edward Baliol to the crown in 1332.   The Abbot of Melrose and his monks swore fealty to the intruder, and were taken under English protection. Edward III. spent the Christmas festival at Melrose in 1340 during a truce, and the favour of that monarch continued to be shown to the monks, who, like others of their brethren in Scotland, were doubtless influenced in their politics rather by expediency than by conviction ; previous dealings with the invaders had probably taught them the utility of maintaining a semblance of friendship with such dangerous neighbours.

Their subserviency did not avail to protect them from further molestation, for Richard II., in 1385, again wasted the country round, made use of the abbey as a residence, and gave it to the flames when he departed.   In compensation, however, he renewed his protection in 1389, and granted certain privileges regarding commerce with Northumberland and Cumberland.[1]   After this the building of the abbey went on without hindrance by means of the funds provided by the Bruce's munificent gift.   Other benefactors also assisted ; thus, in 1398, Archibald Macdowell of Malkarston entered into an obligation to pay £90—a sum equivalent to some £2000 of our money— " to the new werke of thair Kirke of Melros."[2]   The church

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[1] One of these was a grant of two shillings for every sack of Scottish wool they should bring to Berwick.   Chalmers, *Caledonia*, vol. iii. p. 148.

[2] *Liber de Melros,* p. 488.

seems to have been practically finished by the early part
of the fifteenth century, though further splendid additions
in a later style were made from time to time up to the reign
of James IV., at the beginning of the sixteenth century.

When completed, Melrose Abbey measured at least
250 feet in length. It was built, like most monastic
churches, on a cruciform plan, with a central tower, but it
had many special details. The transepts measured, in total
length within, 115½ feet; they had eastern aisles, each one
containing two altars. These aisles ran on either side
into the short aisles of the presbytery, which were of two
bays each, terminated by eastern altars. The High Altar
stood in a recessed sanctuary beyond the presbytery proper.
Another peculiar feature was the position of the choir. It
was formed by separating three bays from the eastern end
of the nave by means of the usual rood loft, which thus
stood nearly half-way down the nave, instead of marking
the junction of nave and transepts. Other Cistercian
churches exhibit the same feature, which seems to have
been brought from France.[1] A succession of side-chapels,
as at Elgin Cathedral, opened out from the south aisle;
these were at least eight in number, and seven of them
bore dedications to SS. Ninian, Katherine, Thomas, Paul,
Cuthbert, Peter, and Kentigern. In one of these chapels
King Alexander II. was buried in 1249. It is not possible
to identify the site of the Lady Altar. All we know of it
is that Robert Avenel bestowed the lands of Eskedale
"to provide a lamp to burn in perpetuity before St Mary's
altar."[2] The aisles were groined in stone, but there was
no triforium; a passage running through the wall at the
level of the clerestory—as in many other Scottish churches

[1] Walcott, *Church and Conventual Arrangement*, p. 91.
[2] "*Ad procurandum lumen ante altare S. Mariæ in perpetuum.*" *Lib.
de Melros*, p. 31.

—supplying its place. The roof of the nave was probably of wood ; the ornate stone groining of the short sanctuary over the High Altar is still to be seen.

The beauty of the church consisted in the fairy-like lightness of carvings and window-tracery, of which every detail was finished with most conscientious care. The result was a building, rich in decoration and symmetrical in construction, worthy to rank amongst the finest pieces of architecture that Scotland could boast of.

To the north side of the church stood the monastic buildings. They met with such complete destruction at the period of the Reformation that it is impossible to form any satisfactory idea of their character. A writer of the eighteenth century, who was familiar with the place and its history, tells us that " the buildings within the convent for the residence and service of the abbot and monks, with gardens and other conveniences, were once enclosed within a high wall, about a mile in circuit."[1] The buildings were evidently very extensive, for the number of monks varied at different periods from sixty to a hundred, with almost as many lay brethren. In 1520 there were eighty; twenty years later there were seventy monks and sixty brothers ; at another period there were as many as two hundred inmates of the abbey.

The history of the monastery presents many facts of striking interest. The second abbot, Waltheof, or Waldeve, was regarded as a saint even during life. He was the son of Simon de St Liz, Earl of Northampton ; his mother, the widowed Countess, having married David I., the young Waltheof became a resident in the country of his stepfather. Educated at Rievaulx together with his friend St Aelred, he learned to love Cistercian life ; and though at first he became a Canon Regular, he afterwards

[1] Milne, *Description of the Parish of Melros*, quoted in *Teviotdale*, p. 248.

embraced the rule of Citeaux in the Abbey of Rievaulx, and eventually became superior of Melrose. His biography, written by Joscelin,[1] of Furness, narrates in detail the wonders of his life and the miracles which took place at his tomb. One of the former was the multiplication of the provisions of the abbey in time of famine for the benefit of the starving poor. By the prayers of the holy abbot, the contents of the granary sufficed to maintain four thousand persons for the space of three months. Encamped round the abbey over an area of two miles, in huts and booths roughly formed of branches, the needy peasantry partook of this marvellous hospitality till the corn was ripe for the sickle. The circumstance speaks much of the never-failing charity of the monks, and of the confidence bestowed in them by all who were in want or distress.

Waltheof was honoured as a saint after his death; his body is said to have been found incorrupt twelve years after, and again in 1206, when it had lain nearly fifty years in the grave; but in 1240, when the tomb was once more examined, the sacred remains had become reduced to bones and dust. In 1296 John, brother of the Steward of Scotland,[2] granted two pounds of wax yearly, on St James's fair-day at Roxburgh, to provide a wax candle to burn at St Waltheof's shrine.

Abbot Joscelin became, in 1174, Bishop of Glasgow, and began the building of the magnificent church which rose over the tomb of St Kentigern in that city. He had been Prior of Melrose and a great friend of Waltheof, whose sanctity he ever loved to extol.[3] Abbot Ernald

[1] *Vide Acta Sanctorum*, August, tom. i. p. 249.

[2] Sir John Stewart of Bonkyl, ancestor of the Earls of Angus and Earls and Dukes of Lennox. *Vide* Douglas, *Peerage of Scot.*, vol. i. pp. 44, 64.

[3] This Joscelin, it may be remarked, is not the writer of Waltheof's Life.

(1189) was distinguished for his prudence and discretion, and his deep knowledge of Holy Scripture. He had been a member of the embassy sent to Rome in 1182 to obtain the absolution of William the Lion from the sentence of excommunication, and the delivery of Scotland from an interdict.

The effect upon Melrose of the wars with England has already been alluded to. When such troubles had ceased, and the monks were left in peace to continue the building of their church, donations continued to flow into the monastic treasury from generous benefactors till the abbey became rich and powerful. In addition to extensive landed property and valuable rights in fisheries and forests, Melrose enjoyed the revenues of several churches, among them those of Cavers, Westerkirk, Ettrick, Dunscore, Hassendean, Ochiltree, and Tarbolton. Besides two dependent priories, the abbey possessed a hospital for sick monks at Auldenistun in Lauderdale, and a town house for its abbots in Strichen's Close, Edinburgh. An idea may be gained of the revenues of Melrose from the opinion of Sir Walter Scott, no mean authority. When asked what he supposed to be the annual revenue of Melrose, he answered that if all the sources of their income were now in clever hands, the produce in the present day would be hardly less than £100,000 a year.[1]

With the increase of worldly possessions, it would seem that the simplicity and poverty of primitive Cistercian life suffered some diminution in the later centuries of the history of Melrose. When, in the early part of the sixteenth century, the General Chapter of Citeaux deputed the Abbot of Cupar to institute a visitation of the Scottish houses, the abbots of three of them —Melrose being one—were deposed by the visitor.

[1] *Vide* Lockhart, *Life of Scott*, vol. v. p. 385.

From the particulars extant of a later visitation in 1533, it would appear that Melrose was especially blamed for a laxity of discipline with regard to private property ; for the abbot of that date was threatened with deposition unless he instituted a reform in the matter of the portions and pensions for food and clothing, as well as of private gardens, which it had become customary to allot to individual monks, contrary to monastic regulations.

But the prevalence of the reprehensible system of commendatory abbots was a still greater cause of decay in discipline. When this abbacy was vacant in 1524 and the following year, there was a keen competition for the coveted distinction with all its emoluments. The Earl of Angus wanted it for his brother, and wrote to Cardinal Wolsey on November 27th, asking him to use his influence at Rome to obtain the prize. " It will pleis Zour Grace," he says, " to ramember that I wrait to yow for ye Bishopryk of Morray, and for the Abbay of Melros, quhilkis (*the which*) ar baitht (*both*) vacand. I beseik Zour Grace for ye bullis of yaim, ane or baitht, as Zour Grace thinkis expedient,"[1] &c.

In the meantime Margaret Tudor, the Queen Dowager, the wife of Angus, was pushing forward the claims of another client, John Maxwell, Abbot of Dundrennan. Her Majesty does not attempt to conceal the fact that she hopes to gain a commission on the transaction. She writes thus to her royal brother, Henry VIII., on January 23rd, 1525 : "Item, gif it plese ZourGrace to remember yat I have written of before for ye expeditioune of ye bullis of Melrose quharthrocht (*whence*), I will have sped to me ane pensione of £1,000 zerlie (*yearly*), quhilk will help me in sumpart."[2] In May of the same year the Queen again refers

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[1] *State Papers, Henry VIII.* (Roll Series), vol. iv. p. 265.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 295 (*note*).

to the matter in a letter to Cardinal Wolsey. However, in spite of both petitioners, the abbacy fell to Andrew Durie, who had been recommended to the Pope in the name of James V. himself. It is only another instance of the corrupt state of ecclesiastical affairs at that period that James procured the retirement of Abbot Durie, in 1541, for the consideration of an annual pension of a thousand marks and the vacant bishopric of Galloway, in order that the king might bestow the abbacy upon his illegitimate son, James Stewart, and himself appropriate the revenues during the lad's minority. At the death of the commendator, in 1558, Cardinal Guise succeeded to him, being presented to the benefice by his sister, Mary of Lorraine, the Queen Dowager. Before he had held it two years the Reformation came.

Melrose Abbey suffered, in the first instance, from the emissaries of Henry VIII. They laid waste Teviotdale in 1545, and burned and demolished all the border monasteries. Although efforts were made to repair the ravages, it is probable that Melrose was never properly restored; all traces of the monastic buildings, except a few slender remains, have entirely disappeared.

In common with that of other religious houses, the property of Melrose was annexed to the Crown, eleven monks receiving a pension for life; one of the community, at least, embraced the reformed religion, but nothing is known of the fate of the others. It seems probable that their numbers had decreased before the troubles came on, for it would be to the pecuniary advantage of commendators to keep the community as small as possible. The property was bestowed upon one noble after another, or reverted to the Crown, with a persistency that seems fateful. Walter Scot, Earl of Buccleugh, whose ancestors had been hereditary bailies of the regality under the

abbots, came into possession of a portion of the lands, and in the beginning of the eighteenth century his descendants purchased the remainder; to that family they still belong.

In 1618 part of the ruined nave was fitted up as a Presbyterian kirk, an unsightly roof being added. Many of the beautiful statues had survived the wreck; but in 1649 a mob of fanatics fell upon these emblems of the ancient faith, and hewed down many of them. Tradition tells us that, when one ruffian had dealt a blow at a statue of Our Lady with the Divine Infant, and had broken off the head of the Holy Child, the fragment, striking him in its fall, permanently disabled the man's right arm. In consequence of this accident, the iconoclasts fled in fear, and never dared to resume their sacrilegious work.[1]

The ruins, like so many in Scotland, have been wantonly rifled for building materials. Besides the house of the commendator Douglas, which bears the date 1590, the tolbooth of the town was built from the stones of the abbey, and many mills and sluices have been repaired, from time to time, from the same source. Not a few of the surrounding houses, too, owe much of their material to the ancient monastery, as is evidenced by the carved work upon lintels and other portions, where the monogram of the Holy Name and other distinctively Catholic emblems may yet be seen.

Melrose is so familiar by engravings and photographs that any detailed description of its present state would be superfluous. The graphic picture, too, drawn by Scott in the *Lay of the Last Minstrel*, is constantly quoted as an almost perfect presentation of the abbey in the days of its splendour.[2] Several statues are still in good preserva-

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[1] Milne's *Melrose*, quoted by the *Ordnance Gazetteer of Scotland* (Groome), Melrose, p. 26.

[2] *Vide* canto ii., stanzas 9, 10, 11. The stanza, " If thou wouldst view

tion, those, for instance, of St Peter and St Paul, in the north transept, and of St John the Baptist, over the south door. Everyone who has inspected the ruins is loud in praise of the exquisite carving which adorns every part. Especially is this the case in the sole fragment which remains of the conventual buildings. On the exterior wall of the north transept is a series of decorated arcades which formed part of the cloister wall. "The mouldings of these arches are composed of running flowers and foliage, and over them is a beautiful frieze, in square compartments, each representing a cluster of some plant, flower, or other figure, among which are lilies, ferns, grapes, house-leeks, oak-leaves with acorns, palm, holly, fir-cones, &c."[1] The perfection of the chiselling in decorations, so far removed from human sight that they cannot be accurately discerned without the help of a microscope, is a striking feature of the carvings at Melrose. It bears witness to the spirit of faith which dominated the work.

It is strange that the people who dwell around this ancient home of prayer and mortification should have the character of being more than usually bigoted Protestants. Catholic symbols are to be seen everywhere. The ancient titles still survive of Prior's Wood, Cloister Close, Abbots' and Monks' Fords; wells bearing the names of Catholic saints—St Mary's, St William's, St Helen's, and St Dunstan's—are still to be seen; yet the inhabitants of the little town, says one of the former ministers, "are such

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fair Melrose aright," with which the canto commences, refers to its present ruined state. It is maintained that this description is purely imaginary, as Scott, according to the testimony of the custodian of the abbey precincts, never visited the ruins at night. Moore is said to have stated as his opinion that Scott was far too practical a man to go poking about the ruins by moonlight. *Vide Ordnance Gazetteer*, Melrose, p. 25.

[1] *Teviotdale*, p. 254.

zealous Protestants, that many of them complained that they 'could neither get a night's rest or a day's ease with the passing of the Catholic bill,' so that it may truly be said everything around us is Catholic 'save the spirit of man.'"[1]

Mauchline and Friars' Carse Priories

Melrose had two dependent priories which claim some slight notice. Walter, son of Alan the Steward, who became a monk at Melrose, and died there in 1177, bestowed upon the monastery the lands of Mauchline, in Ayrshire, with a fishing on the water of Ayr, and much pasturage in the large forest. The Steward also gave lands in the same neighbourhood, and a Priory was therefore established there. The Parish Church, probably founded by the monks, belonged to them up to the Reformation.[2] When Melrose was made a temporal lordship, Lord Loudoun obtained the possessions.[3] No traces remain of the monastic buildings, if we except the old tower, about 90 feet high, at the east end of the present and more modern Parish Church.[4]

The other cell of Melrose was at Friars' Carse, in the Parish of Dunscore, near Dumfries. Affrica, daughter of Edgar, son of Dunevald, gave to the monks of Melrose a considerable portion of land at that spot for the benefit of Alexander II. and his queen Joanna. The present mansion house, erected in 1774,[5] is supposed to occupy the site of the monastery. A small loch near is said to have been the fish-pond of the monks. At the Reforma-

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[1] *New Statis. Acct. of Scot.*, vol. iii. p. 61.

[2] *Caledonia*, vol. vi. p. 518.

[3] *New Statis. Acct.*, vol. v. p. 161.

[4] The *Ordnance Gazetteer* of Scot. mentions this as the sole remaining vestige of the priory.   [5] *Ibid.*, Friars' Carse.

tion the property passed into the possession of the Laird
of Ellisland, an adjoining farm.   Nothing remains of the
ancient buildings except some fragments of figures and
carvings, evidently belonging to some Catholic church or
chapel, and preserved in the avenue leading to the modern
dwelling.[1]

Several authorities mention a third dependency of
Melrose, at Hassendean, in the present parish of Minto,
Roxburghshire.[2]   The church, it is true, was bestowed by
Bishop Joscelin, of Glasgow, upon Melrose, for the enter-
tainment of the poor and of strangers visiting that abbey,[3]
and this has given rise to the idea that the monks
instituted a cell or priory at Hassendean for the purpose
of lodging such pilgrims on their way.   But there is no
mention of such a cell in Spottiswood's list of Religious
Houses, nor is there any proof that it ever existed.   It is
certain, too, that the church was served by a vicar, which
seems to show that no monks resided there, while the
" Manor " of Hassendean was not in the possession of the
abbey.   The titles " Monks' Croft," " Monks' Tower,"
are all that remain to tell of the monastic proprietors.
The tower, however, could not have formed part of a
monastery, as it was evidently intended for a fortalice.[4]
It is possible that the endowment was merely to provide
for the entertainment of pilgrims at Melrose itself ; but
the matter is now beyond explanation.

[1] *New Stat. Acct.*, vol. iv. p. 341.

[2] *Vide Teviotdale*, p. 272 ; *Caledonia*, vol. iii. p. 152.

[3] *Lib. de Melros*, p. 113.   " In perpetuos usus pauperum et peregri-
norum "—" ad susceptionem pauperum et peregrinorum ad domum de
Melrose venientum."

[4] *Origines Parochiales Scotiæ*, vol. i. p. 318.   Either Morton (*Teviot-
dale*) or Milne (*Melrose*) seems to have originated the idea that Hassen-
dean was a priory.   It is strange that Morton makes no mention of a cell
at Friars' Carse.

CHAPTER III

THE second Cistercian abbey founded in Scotland was that of Newbattle, anciently known as Neubotle (*new dwelling*), situated near Dalkeith, about seven miles from Edinburgh. The stately mansion of the Marquis of Lothian would scarcely convey to the visitor the idea of a monastery; yet incorporated in its buildings are all the remaining portions of the ancient abbey. The situation recalls the well-known distich commencing:

> *Bernardus valles, montes Benedictus amabat—*
> " Bernard the valleys loved, Benedict the mountains ";

for it was in a lovely woodland retreat, by the banks of the Esk, that the buildings arose which formed the Abbey of Newbattle. It owed its origin to the piety and generosity of David I., who brought monks from Melrose to people it about the year 1140. What its buildings were like it is impossible to conjecture. Some vaulted cellarage of graceful Early English work under the modern dwelling-house, and traces of the ancient structure which peep out here and there from their more recent surroundings, are all the remains of the conventual buildings discernible at the present day.

The church was cruciform in ground-plan, and lay to the north of the monastic buildings. The ninth Marquess of Lothian, the owner of the property, who took a keen interest in everything relating to the ancient monastery, in the course of excavations in connection with the man-

sion, in 1878, discovered the well-preserved foundations of
the church, which it was thought had been wholly des-
troyed. It was evident that the building had measured
about 239 feet in length. Remains of pillars and carving,
and portions of flooring tiles were found at the same
time ; the latter bore the same design as those discovered
in the ruins of the Cistercian abbey at Rievaulx, the
Yorkshire house which supplied monks for the founda-
tion of Melrose, the mother-abbey of Newbattle. It is
known that there was a central tower to the church at
Newbattle, and that it was at one time surmounted by a
spire, as there is record of damage caused by the fall of
the latter in 1385.

A massive wall, attributed by Father Augustine Hay
to the personal care of King William the Lion, surrounded
the monastic precincts ; portions of it still exist under
" the name of Monkland Wall, but it is now far from
being entire."[1] Since the community numbered at one
period as many as eighty monks and seventy lay brothers,[2]
the building must have been of considerable extent.
This is evident also from the frequent visits of so many of
the kings of Scotland to Newbattle, and consequently of
the countless retinues then customary ; " for there is
scarcely a king," says the editor of the *Registrum*, " from
its saintly founder downwards, who was not frequently
received " in the Abbey.[3]

The first Abbot of the house was Ralph, whom Father
Hay calls "a person of a beautiful presence . . . con-
tinually occupied in Divine meditation, for, from his youth,
he loved his Creator with all his heart."[4] This abbot
assisted at the settlement of a dispute between the abbots

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[1] *New Statis. Acct. of Scot.*, vol. i. p. 68.

[2] Hay's notes, pref., *Reg.*, p. xxiv.

[3] Cosmo Innes, pref. to *Regis.*, p. xliii.   [4] *Regis.*, pref., p. xiv.

of Kelso and Holyrood, concerning the Crag of Treverlen, and is mentioned in the charter of the foundation of Kelso.[1] He also procured from Pope Innocent II. the confirmation of the privilege of immunity from tithes. Hence we may conclude that however contemplative he may have been, he was not only appealed to by others as a man of shrewd common sense, but, moreover, was alive to the temporal necessities of his own abbey. His successor was Alfred, or Alured, who enriched his monastery with many relics of saints. He furnished the chapter-house with handsome benches, and fitted the cloister with seats and reading-desks for the use of the brethren at Collation before Compline, and at the Mandatum.[2] The next abbot, Hugh, ruled for twenty-two years, resigning office in 1201 ; his example in retiring from responsibility was followed by several of his successors. For nearly two centuries Newbattle Abbey enjoyed peace and prosperity, and its history—so far as we know it— was marked by no striking incidents. The Abbot John, it is true, did homage to Edward I., in the Castle of Edinburgh, in 1292, and again, with all his monks, in 1296. The submission gained for the abbey freedom from English annoyance. The invasion of Richard II., in 1385, proved disastrous to Newbattle. The monastery, as all the chroniclers relate, was given to the flames.

On account of this disaster the house was reduced to great straits. Fr. Hay, whose notes form the chief source of information concerning the earlier history of the abbey, relates that some of the monks were taken

[1] *Regis. de Kelso*, p. 6.

[2] "Collation" was the spiritual reading in common, enjoined by St Benedict to take place before Compline (*Reg. S. Benedict*, c. xlii.). The Mandatum was the weekly ceremonial washing of feet enjoined in the same Rule (c. xxxv.).

prisoners, and others took refuges in neighbouring monasteries. The few who were left were compelled, by want of food, to sell their silver household plate, and even chalices and church furniture, to supply their needs. The greater part of the church, too, was ruined by the falling of the cross on the spire of the central tower.[1] It took about forty years to repair the damages incurred by these disasters to the buildings, for, in 1419, Edward de Crechton gave money to Abbot William for building and repairs.[2]

Abbot John Crechtune, nearly sixty years later, "restored the buildings and adorned the church and the altars ; and, being unwilling," says Fr. Hay, "that his good deeds should be overlooked by posterity, he put up his arms over his several works."[3]

In 1503 Newbattle Abbey was astir with excitement of no ordinary kind. Princess Margaret, daughter of Henry VII. of England, was conducted with much state in that year, into the northern kingdom, to become the bride of James IV. John Younge, Somerset Herald, who was in the train of the royal bride, has left a minute account of the progress. He relates that on August 3rd, the princess " passed to hyr lodgynge in Dacquik "— Dalkeith Castle, the seat of the Earl of Morton—and remarks that " at the Castell and Abbay at Newbottell, half a mile thence, was ordonned Mett and Drynke by the space of fowre days that she was ther, with Liveray of Horsys, as in the places beforsaid." It is evident that open house was kept at the abbey as well as at Dalkeith Castle, and it is not unlikely that some of the train may have been lodged in the precincts. On August 7th, as

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[1] *Regis.*, pref., p. xxiv.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 239: "Ad edificacionem et reformacionem monasterii nostri."
[3] *Regis.*, pref., p. xxvi.

Younge relates, " at the houre accustumed she departed from the said Dacquick, nobly accompanyd,"[1] and the marriage was celebrated in Edinburgh with great pomp on the following day.[2]

In 1526 James V. was entertained at the abbey, and gave leave on that occasion for the construction of a harbour on the land belonging to the monks at Preston Grange. This grant was afterwards ratified in Parliament. The same monarch seems to have been at Newbattle again in 1529 or thereabout, for the Treasurer's accounts for that year state :

> July 31.—*Item*, gevin to Dene David Jamesoune, Sacristane of Newbottill, in recompense of a gilt challice stollin furth of the Abbay of Newbottill, the Kingis hienes beingthair, be the King's Precept . . . xv. li."[3]

It would be rash so conclude that any of the king's immediate followers were concerned in the sacrilege ; the progress of such a retinue would necessarily attract some of the least reputable of the subjects of the realm.

Newbattle, in its foundation, was less munificently endowed by King David than some of his monasteries ; yet it became in course of time comparatively rich. The king gave to it much land and the patronage of several churches ; he also granted leave to the monks to cut wood in his forests, and bestowed upon them a salt-work at Blackeland in Lothian.[4] David's grandsons, Malcolm the Maiden, and William the Lion, bestowed upon the abbey further endowments. Alexander II., who loved to retire from time to time to the seclusion of this Cistercian house, was also a special benefactor. This king had

[1] Lelands' *Collectanea*, vol. iii.

[2] The Treasurer's accounts fix the date, which would be otherwise doubtful, " Aug. 8. *Item*, the viii. day of August the King was spousit," &c.

[3] *Ibid.*   [4] *Regis.*, p. 13.
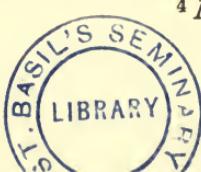
married, as his second wife, Mary, daughter of the
French noble Engelram de Couci.[1]   His first marriage
had been childless, and the hopes of the nation were, in
August, 1241, turned towards the young queen who was
expecting her delivery.   Alexander, to secure the favour
of Heaven in her regard, bestowed upon Newbattle
Abbey "in free, pure, and perpetual alms," the vale of
Lethan, with its burn and streamlets, in order to provide
for the monks a pittance or extra dish on St Bartholomew's
Day—the king's birthday—and another on the Nativity
of our Lady each year.

The gift of a "pittance" was not uncommon in the
days when a Cistercian meal consisted of bread and
vegetables only.   The pittance consisted of eggs or fish.[2]

Mention is made in the Charter of Queen Mary having
"bequeathed her body to Newbattle for burial."[3]   The
queen's bequest, made in the hour of peril, was never
withdrawn, though she survived the king and contracted
a second marriage with John de Brienne ; for Fr. Hay's
notes record that "in the midst of the church was seen
the tomb of the queen of King Alexander, of marble,
supported on six lions of marble."[4]

Among other pious benefactors may be mentioned
Sir James Douglas, the "good Sir James," who was

[1] Matthew Paris, *Hist. Anglorum*, Rolls Series, vol. ii. p. 419.
" The family of De Couci affected a royal pomp, and considered all titles
as beneath their dignity.   The *Cri de Guerre* of this Ingelram, or
Enguerrand, was—

<div style="text-align:center">

Je ne suis Roy, ni Prince aussi,

Je suis le Seigneur de Couci."—

</div>

Tytler, *Hist. of Scot.*, vol. i. c. i. (note).

[2] *Vide* comment on Rule of S. Bened., Migne's *Patrol.*, vol. lxvi.
p. 624.

[3] " Quæ corpus suum apud Neubotle sepeliendum reliquit." *Regis.*,
p. 89.   [4] *Regis.*, pref., p. xl.

entrusted with the office of carrying to Palestine the heart of the Bruce. In 1329 the brave knight gave to the abbey his half of the land of Kilmad, on condition that the monks should sing Mass at St Bridget's altar within their church, yearly, upon her feast, for evermore, and on the same day should feed thirteen poor folk in honour of the saint, so that she might specially intercede for the donor.[1] Later on, in 1390, another Sir James Douglas, of Dalkeith, commended by will his soul to God and his body to be buried in the monastery beside his " late companion," Agnes of Dunbar, his first wife. At the same time he bequeathed a certain jewel and a sum of money towards the building of the abbey, £10 in money for prayers for his soul, £26, 13s. 4d. for lights and other requisites for his funeral, and twelve silver dishes to the house.[2]

The chief value of the possessions of Newbattle Abbey lay in the coal mines belonging to that monastery ; for the monks were among the first coal miners in Scotland, as we learn from the charters of this abbey,[3] and from the remains of the mines still in evidence on the opposite side of the river from the present mansion. Besides the mines worked into the river-banks hard by the monastery, the monks possessed other valuable property of a like nature at Preston Grange, near their harbour there.

Newbattle, like other southern monasteries, received its death-blow from English invaders, who burnt the church, at least, in 1544. As to destruction of the monastic buildings, the reformers cannot be blamed. The fact that the last abbot, Mark Ker, espoused the cause of

[1] *Regis.*, p. 100.

[2] *Bannatyne Miscellany*, vol. ii., quoted in pref., *Regis.*, p. xli.

[3] *Regis.*, p. 53, Charter of Seyer de Quinci, Earl of Winchester, granting a *carbonarium et quarrarium*—coal mine and quarry.

the Reformation, led to the change of the abbey into a dwelling-house. It seems reasonable to conjecture that the materials of the ruined church were used in the alterations. Sir John Scot, of Scotstarvet, says of the commendator and his family : "They did so metamorphose the building that it cannot be known that ever it did belong to the Church, by reason of the fair new fabrick and stately edifice built thereon."[1]

Mark Ker, son of the abbot, was created "Lord Neubotil" in 1587, and the property has remained with his descendants, the family of Lothian.

Saddell Abbey

The scanty remains of the Abbey of Saddell in Kintyre, Argyleshire, afford even less information regarding its outward appearance than its meagre records give concerning its history. This monastery, known by the various titles of Sagadull, Saundle and Sandale, was founded about the middle of the twelfth century by Somerled, who claimed the title of "King of the Isles." According to Macdonald tradition, he was buried in the abbey in 1164.[2] His son, Reginald, completed the monastery and amply endowed it. Successive Lords of the Isles added to its possessions, and their various donations were confirmed by Kings Alexander II., Robert I., David II., and others. In 1508 James IV. procured from Pope Julius II. the annexation of the revenues to the bishopric of Argyle. From this it would appear that there were then no monks in residence.

The ruins of the monastic buildings show them to have been very extensive. Tradition says that Reginald, the

1 *Ordnance Gazetteer of Scot.*, vol. v. p. 105.
2 Macdonald's *Clan Donald*, vol. i. p. 53.

co-founder, sent to Rome for a quantity of blessed earth, and having scattered it over the ground he had chosen, made the buildings commensurate with its extent. The church was cruciform, measuring 136 feet by 24; the transepts were 78 feet long. The monastery stood round a cloister-garth, 58 feet square; it was ultimately destroyed by the removal of its stones for building purposes. Even gravestones, it is said, were used to pave farm buildings, but the perpetrator of such an outrage lost his life by an accident, which was regarded in the neighbourhood as a divine retribution.

Some of the most interesting tombstones in Scotland are still to be found in the churchyard. The best is the "Abbot's Tomb," which has a finely sculptured figure upon it. Another, known locally as that of the "Bluidy Macdonald," bears a perfect figure of a mailed warrior.[1] Near this burial ground is one of the holy wells so commonly met with in Scotland. One of the Protestant bishops, early in the nineteenth century, restored the stone basin, surmounted by a pillar and a cross, into which the water flows.

The site is most picturesque. "It is a sweet and shaded spot," says a former parish minister, "close by a well-wooded stream, near the base of one of the mountains that bound a broad and beautiful valley. The ruins are embosomed amid the foliage of the elm, the ash, and other stately trees, which now wave their branches over the sacred remains."[2]

[1] A fine representation of it may be found in Drummond's *Sculptured Monuments*, published by the Society of Antiquaries, 1881.

[2] *New Stat. Acct., Argyle*, p. 445.

DUNDRENNAN ABBEY

The Abbey of Dundrennan rivalled Newbattle for beauty of site; for, in addition to the charm of the secluded vale, wherein wooded hills shut it in so completely that its buildings could only be seen on near approach, it could command towards the south, where the hills opened to the sea, a view of Solway Firth—a mile and a half distant. The abbey stood on a gentle eminence near a small stream rushing over a rocky bed, and still known as the "Abbey Burn"; it was about seven miles east of the town of Kirkcudbright, in the district now known as the parish of Rerwick.

The founder of Dundrennan, though stated by some of the older historians to have been David I.,[1] was more probably Fergus, Lord of Galloway, the king's relative and familiar friend; [2] it is possible that David also took some part in it. The foundation was effected in 1142, and the monks were brought from Rievaulx. Owing to the loss of the chartulary, few particulars are extant as to the possessions of the abbey. The revenues of the parish church of Dundrennan were bestowed upon the house, and continued to form part of its income till the dissolution. Robert I. granted to the monks the lands of Polles; David II. gave them extensive domains in Kirkcudbrightshire. The abbey had possessions in Ireland, too; for Edward III., in 1328, gave a precept for their restoration to the abbot. One or two of the charters granted by the abbots of Dundrennan are to be found in the Chapter House at Westminster; their seals are still quite perfect.[3]

[1] Stewart's *Buik of the Croniclis*, vol. ii. (Rolls Series), p. 708; Fordun's *Scotichronicon*, lib. v., cap. xlviii., etc.

[2] Spotiswood's *Religious Houses*; *Caledonia*, vol. v. p. 301.

[3] *New. Statis. Acct. of Scot.*, *Kirkcudbright*, p. 365.

In their complete state the buildings of this monastery must have been most imposing; they were exceedingly beautiful and of great extent. The church was cruciform; it had a nave with aisles, eight bays in length and measuring 130 feet, and a short choir without aisles. The transepts—the portion best preserved at the present time— measured from north to south 110 feet. In each wing was a vaulted eastern aisle of three bays; the clustered pillars supported very beautiful pointed arches, while over these ran a triforium of small pointed arches grouped in fours in the north wing and in broader couples in the south. The central tower, supported on clustered pillars and lofty pointed arches, is said by tradition to have been surmounted by a spire 200 feet high.

Four very striking monuments still exist amid the ruins. They are known as the Abbot's, the Cellarer's, the Nun's, and the Belted Knight's tombs respectively. The first bears the full-length figure of an abbot in monastic dress and holding a pastoral staff; the inscriptions are worn away, and it is impossible to assign to the tomb any fixed date. The cellarer's tomb is also much broken; this also bears a sculptured representation of a monk, but in low relief. An inscription in raised Gothic characters shows it to be the monument of Dom Patrick Douglas, who died A.D. 1480. The title of the nun's tomb was suggested by the quasi-monastic dress of the female figure sculptured upon it; it seems more probable that it marks the grave of a former Lady of Orchardton, a property in the neigh- bourhood. The fourth tomb is believed to be that of Alan, Lord of Galloway, great-grandson of Fergus, the founder.[1]

The cloister-garth, to the south of the church, measured

[1] Rev. Geo. M'Conachie, M.A., a former minister of Rerwick, has written a full description of these remarkable monuments; it is contained in Harper's *Rambles in Galloway*, 1896.

some 103 feet square ; the various offices stood round it.
The buildings to the west are vaulted with stone, and seem
to have been used as store-houses. The chapter house,
on the east side, near the church, still retains a finely-
decorated entrance arch flanked by pointed windows of
elaborate workmanship. The building had formerly a
vaulted roof resting upon six beautiful clustered pillars
which divided the space into three aisles—a not uncommon
Cistercian arrangement, as the remains of Netley, Tintern,
Buildwas, Fountains, and other abbeys testify.

Very little is known of the history of Dundrennan. The
first abbot was Sylvanus, who, in 1167, returned to the
mother house of Rievaulx to be superior there. One of
the abbots sat in the parliament held at Brigham in 1290
to settle the disputed succession to the Scottish crown.
Abbot Walter swore fealty to Edward I. in 1296, and the
English monarchs seem to have been always friendly
towards the house ; these are indications that the monks,
like most Scottish Cistercians, whether from policy or from
sympathy with the country whence their first fathers had
sprung, sided with the English in the long contention
between the two countries.

Dundrennan is memorable for its connection with the
ill-fated Mary Stuart. It has been often stated that the
queen spent her last night on Scottish soil within the abbey
walls ; it seems more in accordance with local tradition
that, although she held council with her adherents there,
she actually slept at Hazlefield, a house belonging to a
branch of the Maxwell family, situated in the neighbour-
hood.[1] The abbot at the period was Edward Maxwell,
third son of Lord Herries.[2] Contrary to the unanimous
advice of her loyal subjects, the queen persisted in her

[1] Strickland, *Queens of Scot.*, vol. vi. p. 97.
[2] Sir Herbert Maxwell, *Hist. of Dumfries and Galloway*, p. 197.

determination to pass over to England, and embarked next day in a small fishing boat at a creek near the abbey, then known as Nether Rerwick, but ever since called Port Mary, in honour of the event.[1]   Archbishop Hamilton is said to have rushed waist-deep into the water and, grasping the boat with both hands, to have implored the queen not to trust Elizabeth.[2]   But, indignant at the treatment she had received from her rebellious subjects, Mary persisted, and thus went to her death.

The possessions of Dundrennan Abbey were held by Abbot Maxwell until his death in 1605 ; much of the property had been already alienated before that date. The temporalities were bestowed by a grant under the privy seal upon Gavin Hamilton, who, in 1605, had been created Bishop of Galloway ; they were, however, trans-ferred shortly after to John Murray, a groom of the bed-chamber and special favourite of James VI.   The new owner resigned the property to the crown a few years later, and it was annexed to the deanery of the Chapel Royal of Stirling.[3]

After the Reformation the church was used for Pres-byterian worship, but after 1742 it was allowed to fall to ruins, and the buildings which Lord Herries had refused to destroy at the command of the Lords of the Congrega-tion became a mere quarry for stones for the walls and houses of the district.   In 1841 the abbey passed into the possession of the Government, and since that time the ruins have been well cared for.   Portions of choir and

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[1] Sir Herbert Maxwell, *Studies in the Topography of Galloway*, p. 270. Chalmers, *Caledonia*, vol. v. p. 313.   Miss Strickland rejects the origin of the name as "a vulgar error of modern times" (*Queens of Scot.*, vol. vi. p. 102), though she gives no proof for the assertion.   The authorities quoted above are sufficient to outweigh her statement.

[2] Strickland, *l.c.*   [3] *Caledonia*, vol. v. p. 302.

transepts, the west end of the nave, and a fragment of the chapter house are all that remain of a monastery once distinguished for its beauty and grace among the many noble buildings belonging to the Scottish Cistercians.

KINLOSS Abbey, in Morayshire, was another of the first David's numerous foundations.[1] An old legend relates that the king, while hunting near Forres, lost his way in a dense wood, and after praying for deliverance, was guided by the flight of a white dove to an open space, where two shepherds who were tending their flocks gave the famished king meat and drink. Falling asleep, David saw in a dream our Blessed Lady, who bade him build a church in her honour on that very spot in gratitude for his safety. On awaking, the king marked out in the greensward the outlines of the proposed building. The work was at once begun, David remaining at Duffus Castle (in the vicinity) to give his directions regarding it.

The abbey, dedicated to St Mary, was finished in 1151 ; its first community came from Melrose. So dilapidated are the remains of its buildings at the present day that it is impossible to ascertain with certainty their character or

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[1] Bellenden's *Chronicle*, written in the early part of the sixteenth century, shows little appreciation of the pious king's generosity. "Sindry prudent men," says that writer, "na thing apprisis the gret liberalite of King David toward the Kirk ; for he dotat the Kirk sa richely with the landis pertenand to the crown, that his successouris micht not sustene thair riall estait, efter him, sa weil as thay did afore. . . . Thairfore, the wise prince, King James the First, quhen he com to Davidis sepulture at Dunfermeling, said, ' He was ane soir sanct for the croun ' : as he wald mene, that King David left the Kirk ouir riche, and the croun ouir pure " (lib. xii., cap. 17 : quoted by Hill-Burton, *Hist. of Scot.*, vol. ii. p. 62, note).

extent. The church seems to have consisted of a cruciform building with a lofty spire at the crossing. It contained in its various chapels several altars ; among them were those dedicated to SS. Peter, Andrew, John, Thomas of Canterbury, Lawrence, Jerome, Bernard, Anne, and Magdalen ; the altar of the Holy Cross and that of our Lady probably stood outside the rood screen, as in many other instances, and there was a chapel known as that of the dead—" Sacellum mortuorum."

The monastic buildings seem to have been very extensive. The chapter house was large enough to serve as a parish church for a century after the Reformation ; its groined roof rested on six pillars. The abbot's house stood towards the south ; its tower and gable may still be seen—the only portions of any size which remain to us.

Not only King David, but many of his successors, such as Malcolm IV., William the Lion, Alexander II., and Robert the Bruce, bestowed generous gifts of land and fisheries upon the abbey. Yet, though possessed of considerable revenues, Kinloss never acquired the wealth and influence which distinguished some of the more southern monasteries. No chartulary of the abbey is in existence, and consequently the records of its possessions are but scanty. Such as remain are collected in Dr Stuart's work, published by the Society of Antiquaries.

As to the history of the house, we are fortunate in possessing a record of its traditions and notices of its abbots from the pen of a distinguished Piedmontese scholar, John Ferrerius, who resided there for some years during the early part of the sixteenth century, as well as a chronicle written during the same period by Dom John Smyth, a monk of the abbey. The events recorded by these two writers chiefly concern the later centuries of the

history of Kinloss, but there are a few entries referring to earlier dates.

Edward I., for instance, spent some ten days in the abbey in his expedition to Scotland during the autumn of 1303. During that time the amount of malt consumed by his troops in the form of ale excited the wonder of the narrator, who mentions it as the most remarkable feature of the king's visit. Edward III. also stayed at Kinloss in 1336, finding there a store of wine, ale, salt fish, corn and other provisions, by means of which his men were "refreshed and not a little consoled"; the consolation, however, did not restrain them from burning the town of Forres and laying waste the surrounding country. In 1361 the abbey was honoured by a visit from King David II., who celebrated the festival of Christmas there.[1]

The first abbot of the house was Anselm, who led the colony from Melrose; his immediate successors, Reiner and Ralph, both became abbots of the mother-house. Another Ralph sent out a colony to Deer in 1219; Culross had already been founded from Kinloss a year previously.[2] Many of the later superiors are mentioned by Ferrerius as zealous in the beautifying of the church and monastery. Thus Abbot John Flutere (1430) bought the silver pastoral staff for use at Pontifical Mass; Abbot John Ellem (died 1467) gave a fine altar-piece, silver candlesticks, and many vestments; Abbot Guthry (died 1482) built the bell-tower and spire; Abbot Thomas Crystal, a noted restorer of discipline, who raised the number of monks from fourteen to twenty and more, gave three bells for the tower, and purchased a great quantity of vestments and altar furniture, including a costly mitre adorned with pearls and gems, and

[1] *Book of Pluscarden*, lib. ix. c. xlv.
[2] Quoted from Ferrerius by Walcott, *Ancient Church of Scot.*, p. 278.

a massive silver pyx or monstrance for the Blessed
Sacrament, more than two feet high.[1]   This truly noble
abbot was a benefactor to his house in every possible way,
and when death was approaching procured the appoint-
ment of a successor in every respect worthy of him.   This
was Robert Reid, an ecclesiastic of piety and learning in
the diocese, who received the Cistercian habit on the feast
of the Translation of St Benedict, 1529, and was appointed
superior during the lifetime of Abbot Crystal.   It was
during his prelacy that Ferrerius was induced to come to
Kinloss from Paris and undertake the instruction of the
younger monks in classics.

Abbot Reid was the most noted of all the superiors of
Kinloss.[2]   Besides enriching the abbey with many books,
he beautified the church by the frescoes and altar paintings
executed at his desire by Andrew Bairhum, a skilled artist,
whom he invited to Kinloss in 1538 ; traces of these
paintings may still be detected on one of the ruined arches.
He also brought from France an expert gardener to plant
and tend many choice fruit trees in the grounds.   An
orchard, dating from that period, still possesses apple and
pear trees thus introduced.   Abbot Reid was made Bishop

[1] Walcott is inaccurate in calling it " a tabernacle of silver, three and a
half feet high " (p. 279). Ferrerius says : "Thecam argenteam (vas
Eucharistiæ vulgo dicitur) . . . ad sesquicubitum sese attollentem . . .
advexit " (*Records*, p. 32). A cubit and a half would be equivalent to
27 inches only. The same writer makes a curious mistake as to the size
of the community. "The house," he says, "contained about eighty
monks, according to the number of feather beds purchased by Abbot
Chrystal " (p. 277). Ferrerius, whom he is evidently quoting, says :
"lectulos plumeos *quinquaginta* " (*Records*, p. 36), and elsewhere (p. 29)
mentions the number of monks as "viginti aut plures." Only nineteen
signed a charter of Abbot Crystal's successor (*Records*, pp. xlv. and lxiv.).

[2] He was the real founder of the University of Edinburgh, since his
legacy to the magistrates for the purpose enabled them to purchase the site
upon which the buildings arose in after years.   He died in 1558.

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of Orkney in 1541, but never lost his interest in Kinloss.[1]
After the reprehensible custom of the times, he passed on
the abbacy to his nephew Walter, a mere boy, whom he
educated carefully for his position. But the Reforma-
tion came, and Walter Reid married, and retained the
possessions of the monastery as personal property.
Edward Bruce, to whom he had sold much of the land,
obtained, after Reid's death, the title of Lord Bruce of
Kinloss; he was the ancestor of the Earls of Elgin.

Cromwell used much of the stone of the abbey
buildings for his fort at Inverness; other portions were
utilized by the inhabitants of the district and thus it has
come to pass that but a gable and the side of a turret,
with a few scattered fragments of arches and doorways,
mark the site of a once famous monastic house, and recall
to the traveller's mind as he flies past them on the railway
line the memories of Catholic ages.

CUPAR ABBEY

The Abbey of Cupar-Angus was founded in 1164 by
Malcolm IV., the grandson of David I., and peopled with
monks from Melrose. There are two towns known as
Cupar; the one a royal burgh and the capital of Fifeshire,
and the other, distinguished as Cupar-Angus, on the
border between Forfarshire (or Angus) and Perthshire.
It has been suggested, with some show of probability,
that the name of the latter is derived from Cuthbert.[2]
One of that saint's churches in Cornwall, overlooking the
Bristol Channel, is called Cubert, and under that designa-
tion Cupar-Angus was also known about A.D. 1169.[3]

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[1] In 1530, as will be seen later, he became Prior of Beauly, a monastery
of the Valliscaulian Order, and continued to hold that monastery while
Bishop of Orkney.

[2] *Rental Book*, vol. i., pref., p. vi.   [3] Johnston, *Place-names of Scotland.*

When we consider that Malcolm founded the monastery in question, as one of the historians informs us, by the advice of his uncle, St Waltheof, Abbot of Melrose,[1] it seems highly probable that the site of a church dedicated to the great saint of Old Melrose would suggest itself as a suitable locality.[2]

The church of Cupar Abbey was dedicated on Ascension Day, May 15, 1233.[3] What it was like can never be known, for nothing remains of any of the buildings except an archway at the south-west corner of the churchyard, supposed to have belonged to a porter's lodge, and a few sculptured fragments of stone in Early English and Decorated styles in the houses and walls of the neighbourhood—so thoroughly did the reforming mob from Perth in 1559 carry out its sacrilegious work. The monks never seem to have numbered more than twenty, so that the buildings may not have been very extensive.

Malcolm IV. generously endowed his monastery with lands at Cupar and certain rights regarding coal and wood. His brother and successor, William the Lion, followed his example, and, in addition to the donation of landed property, granted exemption to the monks from all tolls, market and ferry imposts and all other custom dues, with the right of buying and selling in any part of the kingdom ; the same monarch obliged by charter the prompt payment of all debts due to the abbey, and protected its property

[1] "Consilio Walthevi, Abbatis de Melros."—Fordun, *Scotichronicon*, lib. vii. c. vii.

[2] Fordun, in another passage, says that Malcolm gave the name to the place. This may refer to the new foundation only, if a church called " Cubert " had formerly existed there. "Hic ad nutum abbatis sancti patrui sui, abbaciam ordinis Cistertiensis fundare promisit, locum providit, et Cuprum vocabulo assignavit.—Fordun, lib. vi. c. xxxii. It must be remembered that this was written some three or four centuries after the event. [3] *Chronica de Melros.*

from distraint for debt. Alexander II. was also a generous
benefactor. Besides bestowing much land upon the com-
munity, he gave back the nominal rent of a portion of this
property for the sustenance *in perpetuum* of two monks
who were to say Mass in the Chapel of the Holy Trinity
on the island in the Loch of Forfar, and for the providing
of lights for the Monastery. King Robert the Bruce
granted a charter to the monks allowing them to fish for
salmon in the Tay at times prohibited by law to others.

The examples of these monarchs were followed by
many Scottish nobles, particularly by the Hays of Errol,
who were at all times munificent patrons of Cupar Abbey,
the Earls of Athole, and others. Some of these dona-
tions are accompanied with conditions of an interesting
nature. Thomas de Lundie, for instance, says; "Should
I go the way of all flesh while in the kingdom of Scotland,
my body shall be borne to Cupar, and there buried in the
cloister before the door of the church, in the place which
I have chosen for myself." [1] This condition was fulfilled in
1231. Sir William of Mouat, Knight, at about the same
period, granted a fixed sum and a stone of wax yearly out
of certain of his lands. Sir Duncan Sybald, in 1286,
bestowed yearly upon the abbey a stone of wax and four
shillings, for lights at the Mary Mass. In consequence
of the generous donations of so many benefactors the
abbey revenues amounted at the Reformation to a sum
equivalent to some £8000 of our money annually.

Besides lands and privileges, the churches of Airlie,
Glenisla and Mathie in Forfarshire, Errol, Bendochy and
Fossoway in Perthshire, and Alveth in Banffshire, formed

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[1] *Rental Book*, vol. i. p. 341 : " Si vero in regno Scotiæ viam uni-
versæ carnis fuero ingressus corpus meum ad Cuprum portabitur et ibi
sepelitur, viz., in claustro ante ostium ecclesiæ ubi locum meum elegi "
(*Breviarium Antiqui Registri*, 20 *foll.*).

a considerable source of revenue.   While retaining the rights of patronage to themselves, the monks leased out the lands to lay tenants who were responsible for the burdens, while they had a right to the tithes and all other dues.   As an instance of such burdens may be quoted the lease of the church of Alveth to Walter Ogilvy, Knight, and Dame Alysone Hume, his spouse, in 1539.   The lessees were bound to provide for the vicar his glebe and manse and a stipend of £10 yearly, and to pay every year ten marks to sustain a chaplain's stall in Aberdeen Cathedral, besides an annual rent of £74 to the abbot and community.[1]

No complete chartulary of Cupar is extant.   Besides the MS. *Rental Book* and two other MS. volumes of leases and charters preserved in the General Register House, Edinburgh, the first portion of the abbreviated register is in the library of the Earl of Panmure ; these are the chief sources of information regarding the internal history of the monastery, and are included in the *Rental Book* edited for the Grampian Club by Dr Rogers.   A very carefully compiled account of the various abbots by Major-General Stewart Allan forms part of the work ; from it may be culled some interesting facts regarding these prelates.   William, the fifth in order, was afterwards elected Abbot of Melrose in 1202.   Abbot Andrew did homage to Edward I. at Perth in 1291, and again at Berwick five years later ; the consequence of this act was the protection of the property of the abbey by the English monarch.   This did not prevent Edward from carrying off a good deal of the silver plate and some gold ornaments belonging to the monks, and delivering them to Adam, his goldsmith, at Westminster, to be made up into gold and silver vessels for his daughter, the Lady

[1] *Rental Book*, vol. i. p. 31.

Elizabeth. He is said by some writers to have driven out the Scottish monks and replaced them by Englishmen, who fled from the place when Wallace came there in 1297. The privilege of *pontificalia* was not granted to Cupar till 1464, when Pope Pius II. bestowed it upon Abbot David Bayn. This prelate bore a high character for learning, and was appointed in 1467 to the office of Visitor of all Cistercian Houses in Scotland. His successor, John Schanwell, filled the same office. He was uncle to the illustrious Bishop Reid, already mentioned in the notice of Kinloss Abbey. Abbot Donald Campbell (1526-1562) took a prominent part in the affairs of the kingdom. He was nominated by James V. one of the Senators of the College of Justice. In the Parliament of 1560, which renounced the Catholic religion, the abbot favoured the reformed doctrines. He was appointed Bishop of Dunkeld, and later on Bishop of Brechin, but did not attain to either dignity : it is probable that his known predilection for heresy prevented his confirmation by Rome. He died in 1562, enjoying to the last the emoluments of Cupar Abbey. His successor, Leonard Lesley, nominated by the Crown as abbot-commendator, was a Protestant at the date of his appointment. Though probably in Holy Orders, he married after the Reformation. He became one of James VI.'s chaplains, and was raised to the Protestant See of Brechin, and later on to that of Galloway. In 1606 the property of the abbey was converted into a temporal lordship, and bestowed upon James Elphinstone, second son of Lord Balmerino, with the title of Baron Coupar.

The abbots of this monastery possessed two country seats. One was at Cupar Grange, two miles off; this was the less important of the two. The other and principal house was at Campsie, three miles to the south-west of the

abbey. It stood in a picturesque site upon a lofty craig. Campsie was let to a tenant in 1538, who bound himself to keep the house in readiness for the abbot's use whenever he might think well to come thither. The abbey owned a hospital at Dundee, where sick monks could be sent for medical treatment.

Cupar gave hospitality to more than one Scottish monarch. Alexander II., a generous benefactor of the house, paid a visit there in 1246. Robert the Bruce dated a charter from the abbey on Christmas Day, 1317; he was evidently keeping the festival there. Robert II. paid two visits to Cupar in the winter of 1378, and was entertained by the monks. Queen Mary rested there several days in 1562, though by that time much of the buildings had fallen a prey to the Reformers; the residence of the commendator, however, was certainly in existence, for it did not utterly disappear till 1645.

GLENLUCE ABBEY

The Abbey of Glenluce, in Wigtonshire, stood on the east side of the small river Luce in the pleasant valley from which it took its name. It was founded in 1190 by Roland of Galloway, Constable of Scotland. It is uncertain whether the first monks came from Melrose or Dundrennan. Since the latter abbey was founded by Roland's grandfather, there seems a probability that it would be asked to colonise Glenluce. The monastery, like all those of the Cistercians, was dedicated to St Mary. The church was cruciform; in total length it measured 180 feet, and its transepts were 88 feet long, including the space under the central tower. The nave was probably divided into seven or eight bays, while the choir was some 38 feet in length; but the whole structure is now little

better than a heap of rubbish, so that it is difficult to ascertain with accuracy its precise dimensions. Its style seems to have been Early English. The conventual buildings covered more than an acre of ground, and had a garden of nine acres attached to them.

The sacristy was nearest to the church, and adjoining it was the chapter house, the only portion in good preservation. This is entered by a semicircular-headed doorway, and was once a beautiful vaulted building 24 feet square ; its roof rests on a fine central pillar of eight shafts. On the eastern wall, between two pointed windows of thirteenth century tracery, is a moulding in the form of an arch to indicate the abbot's seat on the stone bench which runs all round. Above the chapter house was the scriptorium ; adjoining the latter was probably the dormitory, situated above the common room, next the chapter house. The refectory must have been in its usual position on the south side of the quadrangle, for at the west are apartments which seem to have been allotted to the lay brothers. An abbot's house is thought to have stood to the south-east of the buildings. The abominable system of quarrying has been carried on here to such an extent that the remains are of the most meagre description.

Owing to the loss of chartulary and other documents, little is known of the history of the abbey. In 1235 the soldiers of Alexander II. were employed in quelling a rebellion in Galloway, and Glenluce suffered considerably from their lawless violence, for they entered it and pillaged everything they could carry off. One of the monks, who was in a dying state, was even stripped of all clothes except his hair shirt, as the Melrose *Chronicle* records. It is not surprising, in the light of such events, that the abbey lands failed to produce sufficient maintenance for the house, and consequently that leave was granted by the

English king for the monks to purchase corn and other provisions in Ireland, for several successive years, at different periods during the thirteenth century.

James IV., on his numerous pilgrimages to Whithorn, visited the abbey more than once. In 1491, a horse was bought for the king " be the way cumand fra Glenluss." [1] In 1507 the king and queen—Margaret, sister of Henry VIII.—were both at the abbey. The gardens were renowned throughout that part of the country, so that it is not surprising to find an entry in the Treasurer's Accounts of that year of four shillings given as a gratuity to the gardener.

None of the early abbots were men of distinction. Abbot Cuthbert Baillie, who died in 1514, was for two years Lord Treasurer of Scotland. Abbot Walter was present in Parliament in 1543 and the three following years. Shortly before the Reformation, Thomas Hay became commendator, and leased the estates to the Earl of Cassilis in 1561, thus securing sustentation for himself and the surviving monks. By the General Annexation Act, the property passed to the Crown in 1587. Alexander Gordon, son of the Protestant Bishop of Galloway, obtained possession in 1602, and the lands remained with his family until re-purchased by the Crown a few years later and annexed to the see of Galloway. They were eventually erected into a barony and bestowed upon Sir James Dalrymple with the title of Lord Glenluce.

The ruins were thoroughly examined by an architect a few years ago and many interesting features brought to light, among them the foundations of two altars, facing east, in the south arm of the transept, as well as some beautiful flooring tiles.

[1] *Treasurer's Accts.*, vol. i., Rolls Series, p. 182.

CHAPTER V

Culross, Deer, Balmerino, and Sweetheart Abbeys

VERY scanty are the details concerning the abbey next in order—that of Culross, in Fifeshire.[1] As mentioned already, it was an offshoot of Kinloss, and was founded in 1217 by Malcolm, Earl of Fife. It bore in its dedication title, in addition to the name of St Mary, that of St Serf (a local saint), the master of St Kentigern (or Mungo). The church was in Early English style, as its remains show, and must have been cruciform, as the central tower still exists, though no transepts are extant. The former choir is still used as the parish church, and the tower, of Decorated style, now stands in the position of a western tower, the nave having disappeared.[2] Its site, on a lofty eminence, commands a wide view of the Firth of Forth. The founder was buried in the minster in 1229.[3] The monks worked extensive coal-mines, and the place became, later in its history, a busy port for trading in coal and salt ; as many as 170 foreign ships would sometimes lay off it in the Firth to carry abroad its produce.[4] The last abbot of the monastery was Alexander, son of Sir James Colville of Ochiltree ; his brother, the younger Sir James, eventually obtained the possessions by gift from James VI. in 1609, and was raised to the peerage with

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[1] Culross was formerly reckoned as belonging to Perthshire, but is now included in Fife.

[2] *Ordnance Gazetteer of Scot.*, vol. ii. p. 323.

[3] *Ancient Church of Scotland*, p. 270.   [4] *Gazetteer, l.c.*

the title of Lord Colville of Culross.   The whole of the
abbey buildings, with the exception of the portion of the
church already spoken of, have fallen into hopeless ruin.
At the Reformation there were nine monks only.

A curious remnant of Catholic ages still lingered on in
the old town up to the middle of last century.   This was
a procession in honour of St Serf on the 1st of July, the
day dedicated to his feast, in which the inhabitants
marched through the streets carrying green boughs in
their hands.   The town cross was decorated with garlands
and ribbons, and the procession would pass round it many
times before disbanding to spend the day in amusements.
At the accession of George III. the festival, whose
signification had become lost, for the avoiding of too many
public holidays, was transferred to that king's birthday,
which the population, being strong Hanoverians, chose to
celebrate.   This change led to the abolition of the holiday
in later times as unmeaning.

DEER ABBEY

Deer, in Buchan, Aberdeenshire, founded in 1219 by
William, Earl of Buchan, was peopled by monks from
Kinloss.   Its buildings of reddish stone arose on the
bank of the Ugie, about two miles from the site of the
ancient Celtic monastery founded by St Columba for his
disciple St Drostan, on land bestowed upon them by the
Pictish chieftain, Bede, in the sixth century.   The *Book
of Deer*, a MS. of the ninth century, preserved in the
library of the University of Cambridge, and the oldest
Scottish book extant, contains the Celtic accounts of
this foundation, and thus speaks of the origin of the
name by which the place became known :

Columcille gave that town to Drostan and blessed it, and left as his

word, " whoever should come against it, let him not be many-yeared (or)
victorious." Drostan's tears (*deara*) came on parting with Columcille.
Said Columcille, " Let Dear be its name henceforward." [1]

The " fruitful and pleasant bank of the Ugie " was in
the thirteenth century "probably a lonely waste of marsh
and forest," [2] owing its later agreeableness to the labours
of the monks.

Although the monastery was of considerable size, its
architecture, judging from its remains, was of a simple
character. " Most of the doors and windows have large
round arches, but the work has been altogether plain ; no
vestiges of carving, nor even mouldings, are discoverable
on any part." [3] From investigations made early in the last
century, it was discovered that the church had been cruci-
form, consisting of choir, transept, and nave of five bays
with a north aisle. In total length it measured 150 feet,
and was 27 feet in width.

The founder amply endowed the monastery with landed
property, and added to his gift in later years. He was
buried in the minster in 1233. The monks acquired the
additional right of cutting timber in the surrounding
forests for the repairs necessarily carried out from time to
time. Later benefactors added to the monastic posses-
sions; these included the revenues of three or four
churches. From the income of two of these the abbot
and monks endowed chaplaincies in the Cathedral of
St Machar, Aberdeen. [4]

[1] *Book of Deer*, Spalding Club, p. 92.

[2] *Antiq. of Aberd.*, vol. ii. p. 424

[3] Cordiner's *Antiquities*, p. 43. In connection with this evidence may be
quoted that of the *Chronicle of Melrose* (pp. 197, 198), in which the writer,
relating the voluntary resignation of Abbot Adam in 1267, gives as a reason
his preference for the beauty of Melrose rather than " the presidency over
the hut (*tugurium*) of the monks of Deer."

[4] *Regis. Episc. Aberd.*, pp. 66, 95, 108.

No charters or records of this abbey have survived, and
the known facts of its history which are of general interest
are but few.   Abbot Brice, in 1296, swore fealty to
Edward I.   Abbot Michael, however, in 1314, proffered
the allegiance of the house to the Bruce.   As in so many
like instances, there is a suspicion that interest, not
conviction, had much to do with the English sympathies
of the monks of Deer.   In 1543, Robert Keith, brother
of William, fourth Earl Marischal, was appointed to the
abbacy by Mary of Guise.   At that date there were only
fourteen monks in the house.   Abbot Keith died in 1551
at Paris, where his tomb may be seen in the church of the
Carmelites, near the Place Maubert.[1]   He was succeeded
by his nephew Robert, a boy of fifteen, who retained
possession after the Reformation.   Though he professedly
embraced the new religion, he is nevertheless spoken of
by the authorities of the Presbyterian Kirk as one " who
debursed his money to the enemies of God, to prosecute
his servants and banish them out of the realm."[2]   The
monastic property was eventually erected into a barony
and bestowed upon the Keith family.

BALMERINO ABBEY

The Abbey of Balmerino, or Balmerno, in Fifeshire,
was founded in 1229, by Queen Ermengarde, widow of
William the Lion, and her son, Alexander II.[3]   The site
of the monastery, on the south bank of the Tay, surrounded
by lofty mountains, was one of unusual beauty.   The spot

[1] Spotiswood, *Religious Houses*, p. 423.

[2] *Booke of the Universall Kirke*, vol. i. p. 155.

[3] " Monasterium fundavit Ermengarda memorabilis femina, Alexandro
filio non solum consulente, sed et adjuvante et promovente ædificia,
munificentia in Religiosos inexhausta."—Fr. Hay's MS. *Scotia Sacra*,
quoted in *Balmerino and its Abbey*, p. 58.

was a favourite resort of the queen on account of its health-fulness. The buildings were ready for occupation by December, 1229, for the preliminary arrangements had been made two years previously, and the work put in hand. The monks for the foundation, with Abbot Alan, their first superior, were sent from Melrose.

All the traditional accounts of the abbey represent its buildings as very magnificent. As far as it is possible to ascertain from the ruins, the church seems to have been cruciform. Its nave of six bays had north and south aisles, and the transepts had also an eastern aisle in each wing, affording room for six altars; the short choir had no aisles.[1]   In total length the church measured some 235 feet. The only perfect portion of the conventual buildings is a fragment of the fine chapter house.   It stands on the eastern side of the quadrangle, which, contrary to ordinary usage, is, like that of Melrose, on the north of the church.   The groined roof, of great beauty, rests on octagonal pillars.

The royal foundress amply endowed the monastery with landed property in the neighbourhood and with the revenues of the parish church.   The gift was confirmed by a charter of King Alexander in which the possessions are declared to be granted in free right of salt-works, fishings, and the like, with exemption from all tolls, taxes, and services of any kind, "so that none soever of those things can be demanded from them throughout the whole kingdom of Scotland, except their prayers alone."[2]

The liberality of the king and his mother was imitated

[1] Mr G. S. Aitkin, F.S.A., in his *Abbeys of Arbroath, Balmerino, and Lindores,* has cleverly reconstructed the ground-plan of this church from examination of the existing remains.

[2] Concluding clause of charter, quoted in *Balmerino and its Abbey,* p. 61.

by other lesser benefactors.   After the queen's death and burial in the abbey church in 1233, Alexander continued to show a special interest in the house and added further donations.   His sister Marjorie, Countess of Pembroke, became a generous benefactress in landed property also. King Robert the Bruce confirmed all the privileges of the abbey in 1318, and added a valuable grant of fisheries on the north side of the Tay.   Besides that of Balmerino, the abbey owned at least two more parish churches, those of Barry and Logie Murdoch.   Subsequent monarchs repeated the confirmation of the charters of Alexander and Robert. The accumulated possessions of the monks through three centuries in landed property alone are estimated as worth, at the present time, more than £10,000 per annum.[1]

The annals of Balmerino are somewhat barren of interesting events.   None of the abbots were greatly distinguished, nor did the abbey produce any notable monks.   Abbot William de Perisby was unfortunately drowned on returning from the marriage of Princess Margaret, daughter of Alexander III., with Eric, King of Norway, in 1281.   The ship was shattered to pieces upon some rocks, and the abbot, after clinging to a spar for a long time, at last perished.   In 1296 Abbot William II., in what might almost be designated the customary manner of prelates of his Order, paid allegiance to Edward I. of England at Berwick, and, like Abbot Michael of Deer, as promptly turned round to the Bruce when England had been smitten.   In 1416, Abbot John Hayles was one of the commissioners appointed to treat for the ransom of James I., at that time "detained" at the court of Henry IV. of England.   The same abbot was engaged in other embassies, one of them being to the Court of Rome for James I.   He is the only prelate

[1] *Balmerino and its Abbey*, p. 129, note.

of the house who seems to have taken much part in public affairs until the time of Abbot Robert, the last real superior. The name of this abbot appears in connection with a Royal Commission for the consideration of the privileges of the universities of St Andrews, Glasgow, and Aberdeen in 1532. He was present also, only a year before his death, at the trial of Walter Myln for heresy in 1558. It would appear that Abbot Robert, in view of the approaching storm of the Reformation, made more frequent use than had yet been done of the system of feuing out the monastic lands. From the very beginning of his rule these leases began to be so numerous that most of the pre-Reformation charters of this monastery which are still extant are signed by him.

Alexander II., the co-founder, paid many visits to Balmerino at various times. He is present at Queen Ermengarde's funeral in 1233; he dates one of his charters thence in April, 1234, and in the following August he is again there. No other monarch seems to have visited the abbey till James V., who was there in 1539, as the date of a charter proves. According to Miss Strickland, James removed his first queen, Magdalene of France, from Holyrood Palace to Balmerino in 1537, in the hope of arresting the disease which was to carry her off during the first months of their married life. There appears little proof, however, for the assertion.[1] Queen Mary spent a

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[1] *Lives of Queens of Scot.*, vol. i. p. 322. This facile writer is sometimes too imaginative in her descriptions. Upon a mere sentence in Martine's *History of St Andrews* she builds up a whole series of events which no early author seems to mention. Martine says : " Being a tender lady, the physicians choosed this place (St Andrews) and the abbacie of Balmerinoch, as having the best aers of any places in the kingdom, for her residence and abode." He does not say that she went to Balmerino, yet Miss Strickland finds this sufficient text for a detailed description of the queen's departure for the abbey and the benefits received there.

week there in 1564, but would, no doubt, be lodged in the house of Hay, the commendator.

Balmerino had not to wait for the destruction dealt to so many Scottish monasteries by a mob of so-called Reformers; the first blows were aimed from another quarter. English soldiers, bent upon pillage and overthrow, attacked the abbey under Admiral Wyndham, on Christmas night, 1547, and gave it to the flames. It is quite likely that some repairs were made during the years that intervened before the Reformation came to finish the destruction; fire does not burn stone walls, and the building might soon have been made habitable again. In any case the mob that attacked Lindores found something to ruin here also. The translator of Lesley, after speaking of the leaders, Moray and Argyll, continues: "Heirefter cumis flowing and fleeting unto thame, as til a pudle of al vice, troupis of the common peple, of the slychtest sort, tha flie to the monasteries of Lendores and Balmerino."[1]

The shock of these events hastened the death of the aged abbot, who did not survive them by more than a few months. John Hay became the commendator at the Reformation, and was succeeded by three other Protestant owners before the property was made a barony in 1603, and bestowed with the title of Lord Balmerino upon Sir James Elphinstone. From a charter of 1588 it is evident that the church had been practically demolished by that time, as it conveys "the place upon which the monastery church of Balmerino was of old situated."[2]

[1] Fr. James Dalrymple, translation of Lesley's *De origine, moribus, et rebus gestis Scotorum*, lib. x., Fort-Augustus MS.

[2] *Regis. Mag. Sigill.* (1588) No. 1608.

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SWEETHEART ABBEY

The last Cistercian foundation made in Scotland was that of Sweetheart, in Kirkcudbrightshire, about eight miles from Dumfries. It was founded by the Lady Devorgilla, daughter of Alan, Lord of Galloway, and mother of John Baliol, the "vassal king" of Scotland. Devorgilla's husband, John de Baliol, died at Barnard Castle, Durham, the family residence, in 1269, and was there buried. His faithful wife caused his heart to be embalmed and placed in a casket of ivory and silver, which she kept always by her side. Wyntoun, in his quaint verse, tells how "alwayis quhen scho yhed til met" —even when at meals—she would have the casket near her to keep the memory of "hyr lord" always fresh. In 1275 she built the abbey, and caused the heart so dear to her to be enshrined within its walls; its presence there gave birth to the popular designation of Sweetheart, though its more prosaic title was New Abbey, to distinguish it from the older foundation of Dundrennan in the same county.

The beautiful church was chiefly in Early English style. It measured 203 feet in extreme length, and consisted of a nave with aisles of six bays, transepts measuring 115 feet in length, having two eastern chapels in each wing, and an aisleless choir. The central tower was 92 feet high. The west window contained a splendid specimen of wheel tracery. On the south side of the sanctuary two sedilia only—an exception to the general rule—afforded seats for the officiating clergy, or more probably for the priest and his minister. The monastic buildings on the south of the church have entirely disappeared; they were surrounded by a fine granite precinct wall eight or ten feet high, which still survives to a great extent. The foundress was

buried in the church in 1290, and from the wording of the epitaph composed for her tomb by Hugh de Burgh, Prior of Lanercost, it would appear that her husband's heart was translated from its former resting place and entombed with her.   It may be translated thus :

> " O Lord, to Devorgilla rest impart,
>   Whom this stone covers, with her husband's heart." [1]

We may note that this Devorgilla was the foundress of Balliol College, Oxford, and the donor of the old bridge at Dumfries, which originally numbered thirteen arches, and had a chapel upon it.

Little is known of the history of the monastery. Abbot John swore allegiance to Edward I. in 1296, and was, in consequence, restored to the free possession of the abbey lands. In 1331 Sweetheart Abbey was suffering from the effects of the War of Independence. A charter granting the Church of Crossmichael to the monks gives as a reason " the well-known poverty of the said abbey." [2]   The most noted of the abbots was Gilbert Brown, the last superior.   He did not succeed to his charge until after the Reformation, but continued to be, nevertheless, a staunch upholder of the Old Faith, and an active opponent of Protestantism.   From a charter in which he grants John, Master of Maxwell, the Isle of Lochkindeloct, in 1577, we learn that the gift was a return for the protection afforded to the abbey by that nobleman, who had refused to obey the order of the Lords of the Congregation and demolish the monastery " quhair he was maist part brocht up in his youth." [3]

[1] " Da Devorvillae requie, Rex summe, potiri,
      Quam tegit iste lapis cor pariterque viri."
                    Chron. de Lanercost, Maitland Club, p. 133.
[2] *Archæol Collec.*, vol. x. p. 7.   [3] *Ibid.*, p. 9.

The connection of the abbot with the Maxwell family and his intrepid practice and preaching of Catholicism brought many troubles upon his head. In 1578 and 1588 he was denounced in the General Assembly with enticing the people to " papistrie." His enemies represented him as " a famous, excommunicat, forfaulted, perverting papist," who " kept in ignorance (*i.e.*, of Protestant tenets) almost the haill south-west parts of Scotland."[1] In 1590 he is referred to in a charter as " late abbot "; in 1592 Leslie was commendator.[2] In 1605 he was seized, in spite of the resistance of the whole countryside and zealous attempts to rescue him, and conveyed to Edinburgh. In 1609 the Protestant Archbishop of Glasgow, Spottiswood, broke into the house of the abbot, " and having found a great number of popish books, copes, chalices, pictures, images and such other popish trash . . . at a great confluence of people in the hie street of the burgh of Dumfries, did burn all those copes, vestments and chalices "[3]; the books he was allowed to retain for himself. Abbot Brown was banished the realm, and died in Paris, where he had become rector of the Scots College[4] in 1612.

The monastic lands became the property of Sir Robert Spottiswood in 1624, when they were erected into a barony with the title of Lord New Abbey. The buildings which had been spared by Lord Herries became, as usual, a quarry for cut stone, until in 1779 the parish minister managed to raise a fund and purchased them for the paltry sum of forty guineas. This put a stop to the dilapidations, and in course of time the ruins were put

[1] Chambers, *Domestic Annals*, vol. i. p. 390.

[2] " Gibertus olim abbas."—*Regis. Magni Sigilli*, 1590, No. 1805.

[3] Chambers, *Domestic Annals*, vol. i., p. 422.

[4] *Ancient Church of Scot.*, p. 289.

into decent order by the clearing away of debris and strengthening of the parts most decayed. The roofless church with its nave, choir, transepts, central tower and one of its aisles, forms a charming picture amid the strikingly beautiful woodland scenery which surrounds it.

Sweetheart Abbey closes the record of the Cistercian houses of Scotland, those eloquent witnesses, even in the crumbling fragments which remain to us, of the influence once exercised in the land in Catholic ages by an illustrious Religious Order.

PART III

VALLISCAULIANS
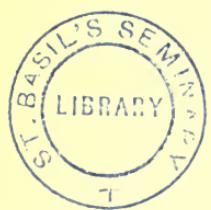
THE VALLISCAULIAN ORDER—ARDCHATTAN AND BEAULY PRIORIES

ALTHOUGH not—strictly speaking—Benedictines, the monks of the Order of *Vallis Caulium* took St Benedict's Rule as a foundation upon which to rear their special monastic observance ; this fact is sufficient to justify some slight notice of the Scottish monasteries belonging to the monks in question.

When treating of Pluscarden Priory, the origin of the Order was briefly summarised, and a few particulars given as to its introduction into Scotland ;[1] but it seemed more suitable to defer to the present chapter a more detailed account of the way of life followed by the "Kail Glen" monks.

As the founder was a Carthusian, the Order was naturally tinged with the Carthusian spirit ; yet in some respects it resembled that of Citeaux. The life of the monks was regulated by constitutions drawn up by Viard, the founder, and approved of by Innocent III. in 1204. From the tenor of the Bull addressed by that Pope to the prior and community, it is clear that the rule was adapted from that of St Benedict, though there were considerable differences, suggested by Carthusian usages. A later Bull of Honorius III., dated 1224, is proof of this. "Beyond the rule of Blessed Benedict," says the Pontiff, "which you have professed to observe, as far as human frailty permits, you mention certain special practices of your own." It seems probable that all that was Bene-

[1] P. 53.

dictine in the spirit of the Order was derived from the
usages of the Cistercians, who professed to follow the
rule of St Benedict in its primitive austerity. Thus the
habit was white, like that of Citeaux; perpetual abstin-
ence from animal food was maintained; a deep devotion
to the Mother of God was inculcated—one feature of it
being the dedication to her of all monasteries as primary
titular; St Bernard was to be specially honoured in the
liturgy—all these practices are evidence of a Cistercian
spirit. There is, however, one point worthy of notice,
which is not to be found in the rule of Citeaux—a
Benedictine monk who desired to join the Order
of *Vallis Caulium* might be received without further
probation.

There can be little doubt that the idea of the founder
of the Valliscaulians was to make such changes from
Carthusian observance as might render his Order ceno-
bitical rather than eremetical. Hence while the monks
preserved many Carthusian practices—such as wearing a
hair-shirt continually, reciting privately the Offices of the
Blessed Virgin and of the Dead, keeping perpetual
enclosure, labouring each in his own little plot of garden
ground and the like—they took meals together in a
common refectory, slept in a common dormitory, and
assembled in choir for the whole divine office, according
to ordinary monastic usage.

One practice peculiar to their Order was the dedication
of all monasteries to St John the Baptist as well as to the
Blessed Virgin. The reason given for this custom is that
" the first father and founder of the Order came from the
church of Louvigny, which is dedicated to Blessed Mary
and St John the Baptist." [1]

All dependent houses were subject to the superior of

[1] *Ordinale Valliscaulium Conventus*, p. 94.

the mother house of *Val des Choux*, who—in accordance with Carthusian usage—never assumed the title of abbot, but was known as the grand prior; superiors of daughter houses were styled prior.   The Order never spread beyond France except to Scotland and into Germany; as regards the latter country no records remain of the localities of such foundations; the special legislation for the priors *de Alemania* in the *Ordinale* is the only proof of their existence.[1]   The number of monks and lay Brothers in each community was limited to twenty.

The rigour of the primitive rule was relaxed by a Bull of Honorius III., in 1224, in accordance with the petition of superiors; it was left to the discretion of the members of the general chapter to legislate to that effect.   In the course of centuries the observance became still more mitigated, owing, in great measure, to the introduction of that scourge of monasteries, the appointment of superiors *in commendam*, who often contented themselves with appropriating the revenues, and left the monks to their own devices.   Matters had become so relaxed by the early part of the seventeenth century that Gilbert de Montmorin, Bishop of Langres, was made by the Holy See superior general of the whole Order, with a view to radical reformation.   About the middle of the same century Dom Dorothée Jallontz, the then grand prior, conceived the idea of renewing the original observance of the Cistercians by the acceptance of some of the principles of the Trappists—instituted about a hundred years previously.   Accordingly, he brought about the union of the Order of *Val des Choux* with the Abbey of Sept-Fons; the severe way of life thus begun lasted until the French Revolution swept away religious Orders from the land, together with most of their records.

1 *Ordinale*, p. 119.

The Scottish houses of this Order were three in number: Ardchattan, Beauly, and Pluscarden. Of the latter we have already spoken; it remains now to give some particulars of the other two priories.

Ardchattan Priory

Ardchattan Priory was founded by Duncan MacDougal, ancestor of the Lords of Lorn. It has been suggested that the foundation was made as a peace offering to Alexander II. and his chief adviser, Bishop Malvoisin. Alexander had made himself master of Argyle in 1221, after the rebellion of the Lord of Argyle, and had constituted it a sheriffdom; in this division he had not included Lorn, but had required MacDougal to hold it of the Crown instead of the Lord of the Isles. The erection of the See of Argyle, with the island of Lismore as its centre, had already been accomplished about the year 1200, and the establishment of the priory—a sister of two other houses in distant parts of the kingdom—was calculated to help to bring the western district into closer ecclesiastical union with the rest of Scotland, and thus strengthen the power of the Crown through the influence of the Church.

From the descriptions given by those acquainted with the district, the Priory of Ardchattan must have stood amid scenery not often surpassed in picturesque beauty— even in beautiful Argyleshire. It stood on the north shore of Loch Etive, one of the many sea lochs which break up the western coast. The principal buildings looked over the water, and had an extensive view towards the south. Of the loch itself, Dorothy Wordsworth has left a striking description:

The loch is of considerable width; but the mountains are so very high that, whether we were close under them or looked from one shore to the other, they maintained their dignity. . . . On our right was Ben Cruachan (3611 feet), rising directly from the lake, and on the opposite side another mountain . . . craggy and exceedingly steep, with wild wood growing between the rocks and stones. . . . Some of the rocky basins and little creeks among the rocks were as still as a mirror, and they were so beautiful with the reflection of the orange-coloured seaweed, growing on the stones and rocks, that a child, with a child's delight in gay colours, might have danced with joy at the sight of them. . . . We saw enough to give us the most exquisite delight—the powerful lake, which filled the large vale, roaring torrents, clouds floating on the mountain sides, sheep that pastured there, sea birds and land birds.[1]

In that wild and picturesque spot the founder raised the priory church, whose scanty remains show it to have been of early English style, and probably cruciform in plan, as there are indications of the piers which supported a central tower. The choir must have measured about 66 feet in length. Like so many other ecclesiastical ruins in Scotland, these also have suffered so greatly from the wanton destruction of the buildings for the sake of the stone that scarcely anything remains except the ancient tombstones in the churchyard adjoining.

A writer of the seventeenth century, Father Augustin Hay, a canon regular of Scottish lineage, says of the founder of the priory: "He joined on to the church dwelling places moderate indeed and such as in a short time could be set up; there the fathers sighing for the habitations of their heavenly country, despised the comforts of their present life." All the monastic buildings have disappeared except one. This was originally constructed for the dwelling of the superior, and was known as the Prior's Lodge. It has been greatly enlarged to serve as a mansion house, though it bears traces of its monastic origin. Possibly many of the

[1] *Tours in Scotland,* edited by Principal Shairp (1874), p. 143, etc.

stones of the old church have been utilized in its construction since the Reformation. A wide extent of rich pasture land in the vicinity is still known as the Monks' Garden.

Ardchattan Priory has but scanty records. "Privileges," says Father Hay, "are said to have been granted to the holy house by the Pontiffs of Rome and the Kings of Scotland. The place given to the devout monks was marked out, instead of landmarks, by fixed crosses."[1] From this it would appear that the priory enjoyed, like many other religious houses, the privilege of "sanctuary." A parliament was held there by Robert the Bruce in 1308, which is said to have been the last assembly of the kind in which the Gaelic tongue was spoken.

It would seem that the family of the founder, which had given more than one prior to the monastery, quietly retained possession when the Reformation overthrew all houses of religion in the land. If we are to credit the statement of a Protestant historian, the priory was ruled in succession by Somerled MacDougal and his two sons, Duncan and Dougal, about the end of the fifteenth century. This has led to much shaking of the head and lifting of hands on the part of Presbyterians in deprecation of the sad state of monastic morality. Mr Chisholm Batten, however, has exploded the myth. By personal examination of the tombstones which had given rise to the extraordinary charge, he has been able to refute the slander, which had arisen from a faulty reading of inscriptions. He shows that the two brothers were indeed successive priors, but that the father's only connection with the monastery was that he had been buried, together with his wife, in the grave which later on received the remains of their sons.

[1] *Scotia Sacra.* MS. in Advocates' Library, Edinburgh, p. 203.

The name Ardchattan, it may be noticed, is derived from the Gaelic term signifying the " Hill of Cathan "— one of the ancient saints of the district, who flourished in the eighth century, and has given a name to several localities in the west of Scotland.

BEAULY PRIORY

This monastery was founded by John Byset, of Lovat, in the parish of Kilmorach, Inverness-shire, about ten miles west of Inverness. There is some dispute as to the origin of the name Beauly. Some derive it from the the Gaelic words *Beal* (mouth), and *Abh* (river), a title describing its situation at the mouth of a river formed by the junction of two others, the Glass and the Farrar. But it certainly received the Latin designation of *Bellus Locus* as early as 1231, when it occurs in a Bull of Pope Gregory IX., addressed to the monks of the priory. It was not an uncommon title for a monastery situated amid beautiful surroundings either in France or in England. In the latter country we have Beaulieu, in Hampshire, pronounced locally like the village which sprang up round the Scottish priory and the river itself on which it stands—*Bewley*.

The situation of this monastery well deserves the designation "beautiful." The scenery is a combination of mountain, moor and forest pictures, with the curving river hastening to the sea, which penetrates into the low-lying lands for some seven miles and forms the Beauly Firth.

The founder was liberal in his gifts of land to the new monastery ; other benefactors imitated his example in later years, until the priory became comparatively wealthy. It is interesting to note that William Byset, brother of

the founder, granted to the monks the church of Aber-
tarff, with all its rights and possessions, in 1231—a grant
later confirmed by the Bishop of Moray, the Diocesan.
Abertarff is the parish in which Fort Augustus is
situated; we find history repeating itself in the gift
to Benedictine monks six centuries later by Simon, fifteenth
Lord Lovat, successor to the Bysets, of the disused fort,
situated close to the River Tarff, which gave its name to
the locality.

The community at Beauly would seem to have been
but small. There is record of a prior and six monks in
1245, and it is not probable—judging from the size of
the church—that there were ever many more in residence.
At the Reformation period they numbered eight only.
So even was the tenor of their lives that few details of
their history survive. In the daily routine—the regular
chanting of the Divine Office, the celebration of Masses,
public and private, spiritual conferences, sacred and
secular studies, transcription of manuscripts, labour in
their separate garden plots and the multitudinous minor
occupations of a religious house—the monks led a life
apart from the world outside, serving God and invoking
His blessings upon their fellow-men.

Of one good work we have record ; an old manuscript
of the seventeenth or early eighteenth century speaks of
one of the later priors as "a man most obliging in educat-
ing gentlemen's children" in the priory, which is styled
the old school thereabouts. This shows that the great
work of education, so dear to monks in all ages, was
zealously practiced at Beauly.

One of the useful arts in which these monks were
conspicuous was that of horticulture. The French
gardener, William Lubias, brought to Kinloss by Abbot
Reid in 1540, would doubtless employ his skill at Beauly

also, for at that time the same superior ruled both houses.
In any case, there was a well-tended garden there.   It is
recorded that the Lord Lovat of 1450, as an old manu-
script says, "planted the first orchard in Lovat, having
brought with him several spurs of pears and apples from
the South, and helped to plant and enlarge the monks'
orchard in Beauly."[1]   The gardens at Ardchattan and
Pluscarden have been already alluded to ; it is interesting
to find survivors of the ancient trees near the ruins of
Beauly Priory as late as 1873, when Mr Chisholm Batten
saw a huge apple tree and the branch of a still larger
jargonelle pear tree still flourishing.

A valuable adjunct to their landed property were the
fishings in the river which the monks possessed.   In con-
nection with this subject we find the grand prior of the
order remonstrating with the Beauly prior in 1506
because he had failed to send to Bruges, for the benefit
of the mother house of *Val des Choux*, "fish called
salmon," which had been promised by a former prior,
either as a free gift or as a due.

Now and again the prior of Beauly would take leave
of his brethren for a time, in order to travel to the
mother house to take part in the deliberations of the
chapter general.   Such meetings were held every year,
and all priors were bound to be present unless prevented
by unavoidable circumstances ; a special privilege was,
however, granted to those of Scotland and Germany.
The Scottish priors were required to attend once in four
years, and this was afterwards mitigated to once in six
years only ; they made use of the monastery of Royal
Pré, in Normandy, as a hospice on these journeys.

None of these priors, though several came of the
family of Fraser—later on Lords of Lovat—took any part

[1] *Charters of the Priory of Beauly*, by E. Chisholm Batten, p. 323.

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of distinction in affairs outside their monastery during the earlier centuries of its existence. The most notable of them all was Robert Reid, who became in 1528 Abbot of Kinloss, the Cistercian monastery in Moray, and was nominated in 1530 prior of Beauly *in commendam*. A man of great learning and ability, he was employed by his sovereign in many important embassies and finished his days as Bishop of Orkney. But his greatest claim to distinction is the zeal he showed in the promotion of good discipline and sound learning in the houses he ruled.

Abbot Reid, as we have seen, had procured the services of Ferrerius, an Italian scholar, as instructor of the young monks of Kinloss in classical studies; although he had sent one of the Kinloss monks as master to the five youths he had received into the Valliscaulian Order at Beauly, he later on transferred the same five to Kinloss, where they remained for three years under Ferrerius.

Not content with building up a spiritual edifice of solid learning, Abbot Reid would add to the beauty and extent of the material house. The tower of the church had been destroyed by lightning in 1542; he rebuilt it and constructed a new nave. Two years later he had erected a prior's house of noble dimensions in place of the old, decaying buildings which had previously served for that purpose. So noble was this house that the Book of Kinloss calls it "a palace."

The abbot dispensed hospitality to his neighbours, the Lovats, Mackenzies and others, with a liberal hand. His wise rule tended to increase respect for the priory in the minds of men, while it upheld the discipline and observance for the good of the monastic community. Many of the improvements carried out at Beauly were effected after he had been consecrated Bishop; for he never lost his interest in the welfare of his two monasteries as long

as he retained the post of superior over them. In
1553 he surrendered them to his brother's son, Walter
Reid, then but a boy. He died in 1558, a year or two
before the downfall of religion, and was spared the grief
of witnessing his nephew's apostasy. It is not at all
certain that Walter ever made his monastic profession;
he may have been a mere titular superior. It is certain
that he embraced the principles of the Reformation and
married, retaining his hold upon the monastic possessions.
No trace remains of Abbot Reid's noble buildings or of
any of the monastic offices of Beauly Priory. The church,
enlarged and beautified by him, is now roofless and
crowded with tombstones and monuments to the dead.
The building was long and narrow, without aisles; it
measured, after Abbot Reid's improvements, about 136
feet long and 21 feet wide. Two small chapels, added
to the primitive building, gave it an irregular cruciform
shape; these have become mortuary chapels—that of St
Catherine for the Frasers, who succeeded the Bysets
as Lords of Lovat in the fourteenth century, and that of
Holy Cross, on the north side, for the Mackenzies of
Kintail. There was formerly another chapel dedicated to
the Holy Ghost. The style of architecture was mostly
Early Pointed. There was an unusually wide east window,
of six or seven lights. In the west gable were three long,
narrow windows, the centre one higher than the others.
In the south wall were three small windows of triangular
shape, enclosing a trefoil light—an unusual feature.

The last commendator made over the lands to Hugh,
seventh Baron Lovat, after the Reformation, in order to
prevent confiscation by the Crown. Although the gift
not recognized at the time, Lord Simon, in 1592, was
confirmed in possession. The monks were provided for
by the Lovat family in 1576.

When no longer used as a monastery the buildings fell into decay. Cromwell, when constructing a fort at Inverness, carted off large quantities of the cut stone for that purpose. In 1815 the ruins were in so disgraceful a state that subscriptions were raised to prevent their entire collapse. Attempts were made later by the Lovat family to carry out a more complete restoration, with the idea of rendering the church fit for the re-establishment therein of Catholic worship; but so great was the opposition raised that the scheme had to be abandoned.

The ruins, shaded by stately old trees, form a striking feature in the picturesque Highland scenery which surrounds them.

PART IV

SUPPLEMENTARY STUDIES

I

In the foregoing pages we have traced the history of the
Scottish Benedictine and Cistercian monasteries from
their rise to their fall. When the Catholic religion was
proscribed in Scotland, monastic life, as was inevitable,
was proscribed also. The favourers of the new religion
coveted the monastic possessions, and the most powerful
among them secured what they coveted. The lawful
owners were sent adrift—homeless, destitute, and despised.
What became of them?

It would be interesting to know fully the fate of these
unfortunates, thus summarily stripped of everything. But
a thorough investigation is out of the question, in the
absence of authentic records; we have to be content
with the scraps of information on the subject which we
may be able to glean from various sources.

But first we would say a word with regard to the
charge—bandied from one writer to another—that the
monks in question had become so unfaithful to their holy
calling, that their overthrow was but a just retribution for
their evil lives.

That many monks were deficient in the virtues required
by their monastic state cannot be denied in the light shed
by history; but that even the majority were utterly bad
has never been proved nor ever can be. But, whether
good or bad, the monks had as evident a right to their
houses and lands as any other proprietor in the days in
which they lived—far better, indeed, than some, who had

acquired their possessions by fraud and rapine. All that monastic families possessed had been freely given to them for their own use, and that by persons who had the full right of disposing what they thus gave. To seize their property by force was as great a crime against justice as it would be for the Government of our own days to dispossess some rich member of the commonwealth of all that he had, and to distribute it to others, on the plea that the person in question was of unworthy character.

But however bad monks may have become, the means employed for their correction—if correction was intended —were certainly unjustifiable. It cannot be denied that the sixteenth century was a period when irreligion was rife. Ecclesiastics and layfolk had in too many instances shown a lamentable decay of piety. The highest authorities in the Catholic Church recognized the fact, and had begun to take active measures to prevent the general spread of laxity in religion and morals already too evident. Not to mention the assembly of the bishops of Christendom in the Council of Trent, and the many wise and drastic reforms brought about by the legislation of that important body, the more zealous members of the Scottish episcopate had endeavoured by provincial councils to stem the tide of irreligion. Such councils met in 1542, 1552, and 1559, and their efforts have been highly praised by historians who have no sympathy with the faith they strove to preserve. But the reform had been attempted too late, and any good which might have been effected was prevented by the violent methods of the patrons of Protestantism.

The decay of discipline and consequent relaxation of the monastic spirit in the religious houses of Scotland—as we have already pointed out—may be traced to the manifest evil tendency of the principle of *commendam*. For a

century and more previous to the Reformation the custom
had been rife of the presentation of abbacies by the
monarch to any person he might think well to favour,
instead of permitting the monks to elect their superior,
in accordance with the common law of the Church.   The
result of such a practice could not be otherwise than
disastrous.   A bishop or prominent ecclesiastic—some-
times a noble layman, even—was made nominal superior
through royal influence ; such an abbot would regard his
position merely as a means of emolument, and was not likely
to attempt to uphold monastic discipline.   Shameful to relate,
some of the later Stuart kings seized such opportunities
to provide for their illegitimate sons ; James V. appro-
priated in this way as many as five abbacies and priorates.

There are notable exceptions to the general apathy of
such superiors towards the spiritual welfare of their sub-
ject ; but they are few.   The usual practice was to leave
the monks to the rule of a prior, who being merely a
representative of the actual head—always an absentee—
had little authority to check abuses.   Thus, little by little,
the primitive spirit of monasticism was lost, and the spirit
of the world ruled in the cloister.

It was only to be expected that the advent of perse-
cution and trial would find too many monks devoid of the
virtues of their state, and ready to succumb easily to the
temptation of renouncing their vows and adopting the tenets
of the Reformation, rather than suffer poverty and ignomiy.
Hence we find some accepting employment as Presbyterian
ministers.   " Severall of our usefull ministers after the
Reformation," says a Protestant writer, " wer sent us out of
these convents."   And we have Catholic testimony to the
same effect.   Nicholas de Gouda, legate of Pope Pius IV.
to Mary Stuart in 1562, wrote a graphic account of his
mission with its attendant dangers, and the state of affairs

at that period. "The monasteries are nearly all in ruins," he says; "some completely destroyed. Churches, altars, sanctuaries are overthrown and profaned. . . . No religious rite is celebrated in any part of the kingdom"— he is speaking, of course, of Catholic rite—"and none of the sacraments are publicly administered. . . . The ministers, as they call them, are either apostate monks, or laymen of low rank, etc."[1]

An extraordinary story with regard to one of these ministers has gone the round of Protestant writers; it may be of interest to recall it here, as a specimen of the way in which prejudice seems sometimes to thrust out common sense. John Durie, a monk of Dunfermline, and nephew of the last abbot, became a Protestant; he is spoken of in later years as an eminent preacher and a diligent hearer of John Knox. Of him the *Dictionary of National Biography* says: "Being suspected of heresy [he] was ordered to be shut up till death."[2] Another authority relates the fact in almost identical terms: "Durie . . . falling under suspicion of heresy, was condemned to be shut up till he died. Fortunately for him, however, the Reformation took place, when he escaped by the influence of James, Earl of Arran."[3] It is understandable that in an age when false doctrine was regarded as a danger to the souls of men, such a man should be kept in confinement, lest he should harm others by his teachings. But the story thus appears in *Spottiswood*, written nearly a century after the occurrence: "he was condemned to be immured, that is to be shut up between two walls till he died. Yet by the means his friends made with the Earl of Arran, he was delivered, and shortly after the Reformation admitted to the

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[1] Forbes-Leith, *Narratives of Scottish Catholics*, p. 73.
[2] *Art.*, Durie, John.   [3] *Fasti Scot.*, i. p. 147.

ministry." [1]   It is certainly difficult to see how a man
could be shut up between "two walls"; four walls,
or at least three, would seem requisite!   It may be this
difficulty which induced a writer in 1844 to render the
matter, as he perhaps thought, more clear.   His version
runs: "was sentenced to be built up between two walls
(!!) till he died, but was liberated by the Earl of Arran." [2]
(The exclamation notes are his.)   Dr Henderson, in
1879, repeats the same fable: "immured, *i.e.* built up
between two walls till he died." [3]   The punishment of
life-long incarceration is not sufficiently dramatic for
writers of this class, so they manage to convert it into
an inhuman walling-up alive of the wretched monk!
One evident difficulty has escaped them.   Such a punish-
ment and at such a time would not be bruited abroad
by its perpetrators; the unfortunate Durie would have
been long dead before his friend Arran could have heard
of his fate had the reputed sentence been carried out.
Fr. Thurston, S.J., in our own days, has successfully
killed the ancient lie which made such a punishment of
not infrequent occurrence in the monasteries of old.

Luckily we are able to contrast this example of infi-
delity on the part of Durie, to his monastic vows and
Catholic faith, with the record of those faithful monks of
the same Dunfermline Abbey, already referred to, who,
twenty years after the downfall of Cathclicism, still clung
in secret to their old home and its life of prayer and
praise.   Dunfermline was fortunate in having a Catholic
proprietor at that period in the person of the Earl of
Huntly ; to this, no doubt, we must attribute the fact
that the monks were able to remain unmolested so long
after the Reformation.

[1] *Hist.*, vol. iii. p. 83.   [2] *Hist. of Dunfermline*, vol. i. p. 199.
[3] Henderson, *Annals*, p 199.

Pluscarden Priory enjoyed a like privilege. Alexander
Seton, a son of George, fifth Lord Seton, had been
endowed by Mary Stuart, his godmother, with the
revenues of the Priory as a baptismal gift; he had been
intended for the priesthood, and studied for a while in
the German College, Rome; but the advent of the
Reformation led him to change his mind, and he became
one of the best lawyers of his age. Born of a staunch
Catholic family, he never actually gave up his religion;
but his life was one of constant dissimulation. He posed
as a Protestant, sometimes attending Protestant worship,
and even receiving Communion; yet all the time he was
favouring Catholics, and receiving Catholic sacraments
when it was possible. To the remonstrances of priests,
he would maintain that he could thus benefit religion
in a way otherwise possible. A notable favourite with
James VI., he was placed in high offices. For some years
he was Chancellor of the Kingdom. To his credit, be it
said, he declared, four years before his death, in the
presence of Protestants as well as Catholics, that he had
always kept loyal to his faith, and regretted exceedingly
his remissness in its external observance.

Under Seton's proprietorship, the monks of Pluscarden,
contrary to the usual fate of monks in Scotland, were
never driven from their monastery. "The Monks," says
the historian of their house, "were not disturbed at the
Reformation, but lived on peacefully in the buildings till
death called each away."[1] In 1582 Robert Arth and
Thomas Rose (or Ross) were the sole survivors of the
former community, as they signed a deed together with
the commendator, Seton, in that year. In 1586 Thomas
Rose alone remained.[2]

At Kelso, too, some monks must have been left un-

[1] Macphail's *Pluscardyn*, p. 135.   [2] *Ibid.*, p. 245.

molested in the ruined buildings. An Act of Parliament
of 1587 records that none were then remaining : " For-
sameikle as the haill monkis of the abbay of Kelso ar
decessit "[1]   With regard to these, as with other instances
to be referred to later, it would appear that the monks in
question had accepted a pension, and had therefore,
outwardly at least, conformed to Protestantism. For
Row's *History* says that monks becoming Protestants had
pensions for life, granted at the request of the reformed
ministers.[2]

In the Cluniac houses many continued staunch to their
vows. In 1563, forty-eight persons were brought to
trial for "attempting to restore Popery." Among these
were more than thirty priests, together with Archbishop
Hamilton, Commendator of Paisley Abbey, and other
prominent clerics. They were charged with saying or
hearing Mass and administering or receiving the Catholic
sacraments. The Archbishop and several priests, some of
whom were monks, were specially accused of hearing
Confessions : " in ye moneth of Apryll last by past, in ye
towne of Paslay, Kirk, Kirk-yard, and Abbay Place
thairof (they) openlie, publiclie, and plainly tuke
auricular Confession of ye saidis personis."[3]   The monks
were " Dene William Lepar, D. David Brenche (or
Brance), D. Gilbert Kennedy, D. Michael Dewer, D.
Adam Maxwell." Fathers Dewer and Kennedy were
released ; they were not monks of Paisley, and
that may have been the reason. We shall find their
names among the monks of Crossraguel. The charge
against these priests is evidence of the loyalty
to their faith of the Paisley folk, through the

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[1] *Acts Par. Scot.*, vol. iii. p. 454.
[2] Row's *Hist.* (Woodrow Soc.), p. 13.
[3] Pitcairn, *Criminal Trials*, vol. i. p. 429.

influence of the monks, alluded to in the notice of that monastery.

Crossraguel, the other Cluniac Abbey, had likewise the benefit of strong Catholic protection from the family of Cassilis. As already related, many of the monks returned there after the Reformation. In 1573 a charter signed by the commendator, Alan Stewart, bears the signatures of D. Michael Dewer, D. Gilbert Kennedy, D. Adam Maxwell, D. John Bryce. Two years later other names were added to a deed: "D. John McYong and D. John Mure, the younger." The "poor men in possession of the yards," alluded to in 1589. were doubtless monks; for in 1592 an agreement between Sir Patrick Vaus and the Earl of Cassilis shows that some still survived. The "Gilbert Kennedy, servitor of the Earl," seems to be identical with the zealous monk of 1563. This is probably the only instance in all Scotland of the residence of monks in their monastery, more than thirty years after their way of life had been proscribed.[1]

For the Black Monks who desired to keep faithfully to their state, a refuge might be found beyond the seas. The monastery of "St James of the Scots" had existed in Ratisbon since the eleventh century. During the course of ages other houses had become affiliated with it, and the abbey flourished greatly in learning and discipline. The decay of the monastic spirit in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries had weakened the Abbey to some extent, but the Reformation in Scotland sent thither the able and learned defender of Catholicism, Ninian Winzet, to rule as abbot. With the assistance of the exiled Bishop of Ross, John Lesley, staunch upholder of Mary Stuart, he replenished the abbeys of Ratisbon and

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[1] *Charters of Crossraguel,* ii. 64, 67.

Erfurt with monks whom the Reformation had driven from Scotland. That the community was fairly numerous is to be seen from the fact that eighteen years later a colony could be sent out from Ratisbon to people the Abbey of Würzburg, which had been restored to the Scots, after having been in possession of Germans for a period.[1]

We turn now to the Cistercians. There were eleven monks of Melrose, as we have seen, who received pensions from the Crown; this would seem to denote that they conformed to Protestantism. This is, however, but a small percentage out of a large community; for twenty years before the Reformation Melrose had—including lay brothers—130 inmates.

At Balmerino there were at least two monks living in the precincts as late as 1586. The *conventus* is mentioned in charters as late as 1588 and 1600; but as the later owners were not Catholics it seems scarcely possible that these monks could have continued to observe Catholic practices.[2]

At Newbattle the son of the abbot, who had become a Protestant, was made commendator in 1564. In his statement to Parliament in 1581, he mentions £240 Scots paid to "six aged, decrepid, and recanted monks."[3] We may give these poor men credit for retaining their faith, as the proprietor seems to have "recanted" himself for temporal rather than religious reasons, and we may fairly suppose that he would deal mercifully with his old community. But it is impossible to say with any certainty.

The Abbot of Sweetheart, Gilbert Brown, was so distinguished an upholder of the ancient faith that we may well believe him to have kept with him many of his monks. The discovery of so many books, vestments, etc.,

[1] *Edinburgh Review*, Jan. 1864, p. 180.
[2] Campbell, *Balmerino*, p. 130.   [3] *Caledonia*, vol. i. p. 758 (note).

in his house after his apprehension would seem to show that Catholic worship still went on in the abbey, until he was seized and imprisoned.

Some monks are said to have remained in the precincts of Dundrennan Abbey during the life of the abbot, who was a member of the powerful Maxwell family, and kept possession of the property until his death in 1605 ; but we have not the same reliable evidence for the fact as we have with regard to the monks of Crossraguel.

But we must not condemn as apostates those monks for whose fidelity to their vows we have no direct evidence. Nicholas de Gouda, already quoted, says, speaking of 1562 : "Only a few Religious are left, and most of these have no fixed residence, but go about from place to place, or wear the secular habit and live among their friends."[1] We can well imagine that this statement may describe the lot of the majority of those unhappy monks, who had been so infamously and unjustly despoiled of all that they possessed, and who were unable or unwilling to pass beyond the sea to foreign houses. That such as these had kept faithful is evident from the terms in which they are alluded to.

[1] Forbes-Leith, *Narratives*, p. 75.

WHAT THE MONASTERIES DID FOR SCOTLAND

In the first chapter of this book we gave a quotation
from a distinguished Benedictine prelate of our own day,
enumerating the benefits bestowed by monasticism on
society in general; in addition to this we have noticed
more than once, in passing, some of the ways in which
Scotland profited by her Religious Orders. But it may
not be amiss to recall them here, and to mention other
instances not yet touched upon, before taking leave of our
subject. For even Catholics fail to realize in these days,
when monasteries are few and far between, how important
a place they filled in every country in Catholic ages.
Setting aside for the moment the religious aspect of the
case, Scotland was indebted to the monks of old in many
and various ways.

In the first place, they were the recognized patrons of
learning and the fine arts, and for many centuries they had
full control of the education of youth. Instances have
already been given in the body of this work.

They were indeed the civilizers of their time. At
a period when laymen were liable to be called out to
battle at almost any moment, monks were practically the
only tillers of the soil who could count on freedom from
warlike service, and from the wasting of their lands by the
invader—though this was a privilege not always to be
relied upon. Hence they became the model farmers of
the whole country. The vast possessions of the monasteries,
as even Protestant writers admit, were administered in a

way which must needs excite our admiration. Tytler has thus eulogised the monks, after styling them "the great agricultural improvers of the country": "In later ages they became landlords by the leasing out of portions of their property, and their good example in the scientific management of their farms and estates was a practical lesson to their tenants." "It was the several monks of the religious houses," says Chalmers, "who were the greatest, perhaps, the most intelligent cultivators of those times. Before the middle of the twelfth century those monasteries possessed vast estates, in all that constitutes opulence during rude times : in lands, . . . in cattle and sheep, and in every article which can be produced by a well-managed husbandry." He illustrates this by the example of one of the largest of those institutions. "At the end of the thirteenth century, the monks of Melrose possessed many granges which they cultivated by means of their own men, and where they bred vast herds of cattle, horses, sheep, swine, and other beasts, as we learn from their chartulary : on their grange of Newton, which they laboured with seven ploughs, the monks had 80 oxen, 60 cows in winter, 1000 ewes, 60 porkers, with sufficient horses for their ploughs." He goes on to furnish statistics of the granges of Reveden, Stapelaw, etc., all worked on the same liberal scale.[1] It would be difficult to overestimate the influence exercised upon the agriculture of the country by such expert farming, and that in a land scarcely yet civilized.

We have already shown how the monks were the model gardeners of their age. We may add here that besides the renowned gardens of Lindores, Kilwinning, Arbroath, Glenluce, Lesmahagow, and others, Melrose is to this day famous for fruit ; its monastic gardens were

[1] *Caledonia*, vol. iii. p. 138.

enclosed by a wall measuring a mile in circuit. At Galtonside, a grange of the same Abbey, an orchard of five acres in extent, which might still be seen less than a century ago, is another witness to the various industries of the great Cistercian house.[1]

With regard to the subject of fruit culture, it may be remarked here that recent investigations have brought to light the fact that some of the old monastic gardeners proceeded on thoroughly scientific principles in the exercise of their art ; for some of the fruit trees planted by them are found to have been placed upon a basis of stone slabs, in the most approved *modern* method—as it is styled— of cultivation.

In all that related to commerce, again, monks led the way. In the management of their fisheries—an important branch of their valuable possessions—they evinced both skill and enterprise. Historians tell us that they were the chief exporters of wool, skins, hides, and the like commodities, and that they were the chief shipowners of the kingdom. Many of the fairs and markets held in Scotland owed their origin to the greater monasteries, as did, in many cases, the towns in which they were held, together with their burghal rank.

The coal mines and salt works of some of the monasteries have already been noticed.

Monks have ever been noted for their charity to the poor and suffering ; it was only when the monasteries were swept away that poorhouses had to be established. Examples of the princely munificence of Melrose and the open-handed liberality of Dunfermline and Paisley have already been given. But there was another way in which charity was shown besides feeding the hungry : like other branches of knowledge, that of medicine was monopolized

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[1] Milne, *Melrose*, pp. 42, 61.

by monks in what may be termed the monastic age of
Scotland. They were the recognized physicians of their
time, and to them the poor turned for help and medicine
in time of sickness. It does not detract from their merit
that the medical skill of the monks and their care for the
sick poor was at an early date superseded by regular
hospitals, founded by bishops, prelates, and nobles all over
the land ; for it was their example, in the first instance,
which prompted such munificent acts of charity. "The
origin of our present hospitals," says the *Encyclopædia
Britannica*, "must be looked for in the monastic arrange-
ments for the care of the sick and indigent." [1]

But great as were the benefits bestowed upon the
country in the temporal order, they were the least valuable
of the services rendered by the monks. In the spiritual
order the monasteries were sources of blessing beyond the
imagination even of those who profess the same faith as
the monks did. We can but hint at the incalculable
graces which must have enriched the people of the land
from the solemn daily worship of God in those monastic
sanctuaries ; from the never-ceasing celebration of the
Church's daily authorised prayer—the Divine Office—at
its stated hours of day and night ; from the secret
pleading of many holy, hidden lives, spent for God alone.

We do not pretend to say that all the monks living in
Scotland at the period of the Reformation were saints, or
even—as regards some of them—worthy examples of the
monastic state ; the result of the overthrow of their
houses would disprove it. But we maintain, on the other
hand, that there were still many who lived up to the
principles of their professions and this we have shown on
a previous page.

Why then were the monasteries cast down ? Not

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[1] *Art.* "Hospital," p. 301 (ninth edition).

because the monks as a body were such evil men that strong measures were called for in their regard : not because monastic life had altogether failed in its purpose ; for no charges could be brought against the Benedictine and Cistercian monks of Scotland which could justify their wholesale suppression.   This is clear from the records of their official visitations on the eve of their downfall, which contain no account of sufficiently grievous delinquencies on the part of the monks as a body to merit such chastisement.   There must have been, then, another motive for their overthrow and final extinction in Scotland. The reason is not far to seek.

There can be no doubt that the animosity of the Reformers against the religious orders in particular was based upon the fact that the latter were, of all the clergy, the most staunch in upholding the old faith of the country. The casting down of the monasteries, therefore, meant the removal of so many strongholds of Catholicism.   But the Reformers, of themselves, could do little ; they needed help in their work, and obtained it easily.

It is scarcely necessary in these more enlightened days to point out—even to non-Catholics—the fact that the destruction of the monasteries of Scotland was not brought about by purely religious motives.   When so many of the nobility of Scotland attached themselves to the ranks of the Reformers, they were not all led by the desire of seeing what Tytler calls " a purer faith and a more primitive worship established in Scotland." [1]   " Many of them," says the same historian in another place, " favoured the doctrines of the Reformation, some from a conscientious conviction of their truth, others from an envious eye to those possessions of the Church which, under the dissolution of the English religious houses, they had seen

[1] Tytler, *Hist. of Scot.*, vol. iii. p. 40.

become the prey of their brethren in England."[1]
Another Protestant historian is still more uncompromising
in analysing the motives of these "Reformers." "The
lay gentry of Scotland," says Hill Burton, "had their eyes
pretty steadily fixed on the estates of the Church and
clergy. When a set of teachers arose whose doctrine
pointed to the conclusion that these clergy were false
prophets who had no title to their position, and conse-
quently no just right to the wealth it brought them, there
was a disposition to listen."[2] Yet another and more
modern writer enumerates among the factors of the
Reformation "the passions of the exemplary nobles, whose
disinterested conduct," he says with bitter irony, "shines
on almost every page of this book."[3]

As to the wanton demolition of so many beautiful build-
ings in the name of religion, the vandalism was deplored
almost as soon as it had been consummated—by those, at
least, who had the culture to appreciate their irretrievable
loss. Spottiswood, the historian, himself a prelate of the
Reformed Church, thus vividly describes such proceedings,
writing less than a century after the event :

Thereupon ensued a pitiful vastation of churches and church buildings
throughout all parts of the realm ; for every one made bold to put to
their hands, the meaner sort imitating the ensample of the greater and
those who were in authority. No difference was made, but all the
churches were either defaced or pulled to the ground. The holy
vessels, and whatsoever else men could make gain of, as timber, lead,
and bells, were put to sale. The very sepulchres of the dead were not
spared. The registers of the church and *bibliothèques* were cast into the
fire. In a word, all was ruined, and what had escaped in the time of
the first tumult did now undergo the common calamity, which was so
much the worse, that the violences committed at this time were coloured

[1] Tytler, *Hist. of Scot.*, vol. ii. p. 373.
[2] Hill Burton, *Hist. of Scot.*, vol. iv. p. 25.
[3] Andrew Lang, *Hist. of Scot.*, vol. i. p. 433.

with the warrant of public authority. Some ill-advised preachers did likewise animate the people in these their barbarous proceedings, crying out ' that the places where idols [1] had been worshipped ought by the law of God to be destroyed, and that the sparing of them was the reserving of things execrable.' . . . The report also went that John Knox (whose sayings were by many esteemed as oracles) should, in one of his sermons, say ' that the sure way to banish the rooks was to pull down their nests.' . . . But popular fury once armed can keep no measure, nor do anything with advice and judgment.[2]

We venture to think that no unprejudiced mind, whether sympathising with the principles of monasticism or not, can fail to condemn the blind fury which robbed of all their possessions the Scottish monks of old, and hewed down without compunction not only the houses which had been built to shelter them, but even the sacred sanctuaries which they had raised for the due honour of God.

[1] For a refutation of the baseless charge brought against the Catholic Church, *vide* note p. 81.

[2] Spottiswood, *History of the Church of Scotland*, vol. i. p. 372-3.

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